

Preferred Congressional Candidates *The Editors*

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Rating Congress

*How Each Member Voted
On Twelve Test Issues*

The House in '71: a Prediction

Richard W. Boyd & James T. Murphy

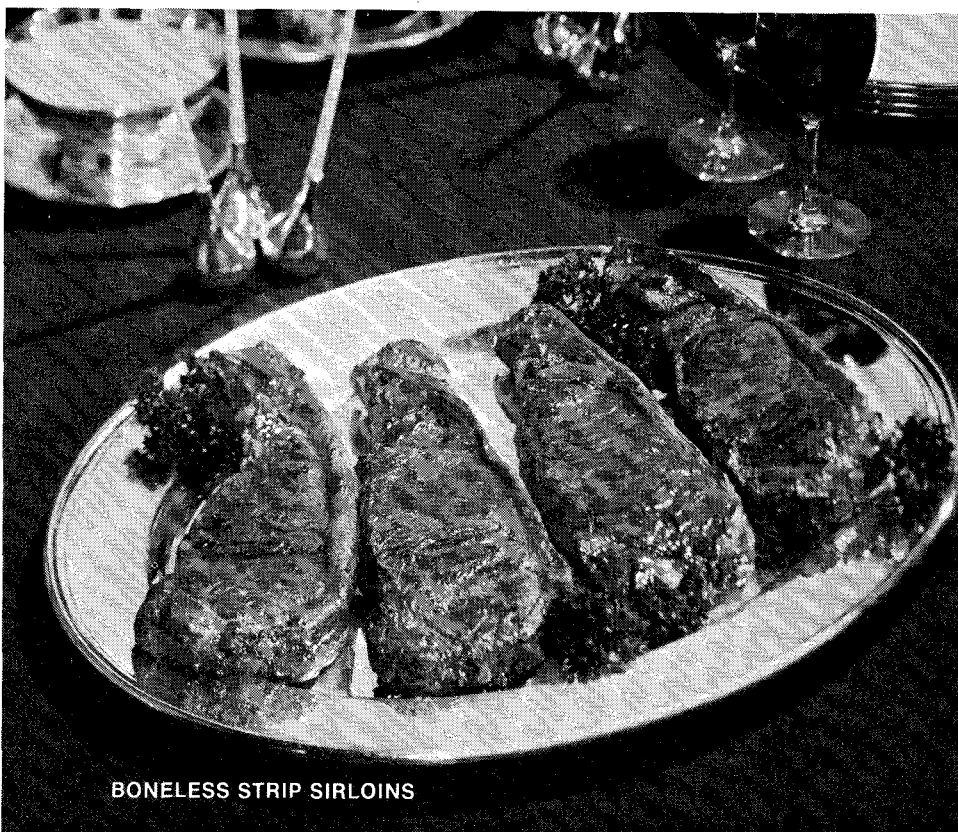
Paul R. Wieck on Blood and Gore

John Osborne on Nixon's World Mission

Louis Coxe on Dorothy Parker

Stanley Kauffmann on Buster Keaton

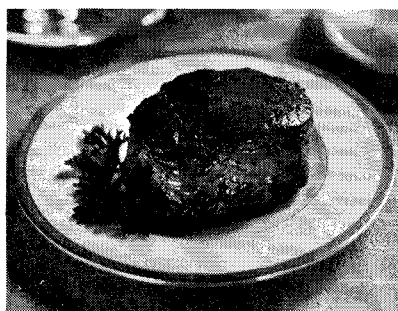
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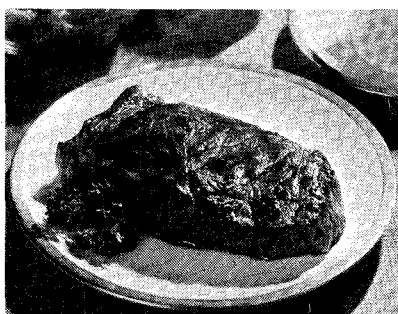
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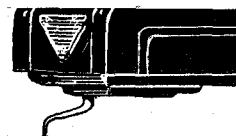
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Nixon's Midterm Try

Baseball is over, football just warming up, so now we work in another sporting spectacular, the midterm election.

The great trick here is to detect a trend; some people can't do it, but votaries of the sport who write for newspapers always have a couple of trends on tap, even before election. They will really go to town when the votes are counted. Favorite "trend" right now is that we are all moving to the right; nearly all commentators seem to assume this though the evidence is skimpy.

In 1968 Mr. Nixon invented a "great silent majority" and Spiro Agnew interpreted this as conservative; but is it really? There was little sign of it in the Nixon victory; his election was so close that he didn't even bring in his own party with him, something that hadn't happened to a new President for 120 years! It is argued that conservatism has grown since; we are told so almost every day. But the argument seems to be that if you oppose street crime, and blowing up buildings on campus, you are moving to the "right"; therefore, the counter argument would seem to be equally true that if you oppose 40 cent bus fares and 5½ percent unemployment you are moving to the "left." Nonsense. The fact is that it is hard to know what is in the dark mood of the American people, except that it is confused, frustrated and (one guesses) rather frightened.

We should know more after the election. But there are difficulties in the way. Only half the eligibles vote at midterm. Perhaps 20 million people are disenfranchised by outrageously archaic residential requirements. Voters in a seventh of the House districts (about 64 this year) won't have any real vote for they are in one-party dis-

tricts where the opposition doesn't even bother to put up a candidate. (Of course, they can go down and vote "Da," like the Russians.)

There's a final problem. The "out" party normally wins House seats at midterm. Yes, the Democrats should get a dozen seats or so. This isn't superstition, it's statistics. Four years ago it fell to this reporter's lot to be closeted at the White House with the half-reclining President Johnson. I wanted to talk about the impending election and he wanted to relax by talking about anything else. I had previously gone over the score of the last five midterm races and decided that the Democrats would lose 35-40 seats by the law of averages. Wouldn't Mr. Johnson be wise to consider the figures, and offer an alibi in advance?

The Johnsonian snort of disdain could be heard right across Lafayette Park. But anyway, Democrats actually lost 47 seats—which was more than anybody expected—and was a good measure of the midterm dissatisfaction quotient.

Going back to the midterm election of 1858 (President Buchanan, you remember) the "in" party punctually lost 30 seats. From then to now, with one exception I believe, no President has seen his party make a *net* gain at midterm. The one exception was Franklin Roosevelt in 1934. Let it be added quickly, for Mr. Nixon's sake, that the midterm bounceback is reduced if the preceding Presidential election was close, and you couldn't find a closer one than the Nixon-Humphrey race. Maybe Mr. Nixon can repeat the Roosevelt trick of a third of a century ago. I doubt it.

He is out now trying to do just that, trying to create a national trend. Mr. Nixon has slept fewer nights in the White House than any other recent Executive. He is trying to bundle all the localisms of an off-year's isolated contests into some kind of a Republican whole. Other Presidents have tried this.

In 1918 Wilson appealed for Democratic victory—and lost Congress. FDR tried to purge his own party in the primaries. He failed. Harry Truman took the stump directly (the first man to do so); Republicans gained 28 seats. Poor old Ike played the most active role in modern times. To help him, his Spiro Agnew, Nixon, flew 26,000

miles, made 204 speeches, and threw off such alliterative nifties as that about Dean Acheson—a graduate of the "Cowardly College of Communist Containment." (Adlai Stevenson called it "McCarthyism in a white collar.") The result? Democrats gained 18 House seats and control of Congress.

"By golly," said the unfortunate Ike when it was all over, "sometimes you sure get tired of all this clackety-clack."

Now the clackety-clack is on again. The disconcerting thing is that it is so dull. The reason is, I believe, that there is no clear contest. The heart leaps up for neither side. A mediocre President is running against a mediocre Congress. There are individual shining lights, of course, for either party. But the record of this 91st Democratic Congress is simply lamentable.

Congressional Record

There is a desperate feeling that Congress is not keeping up with the times. The Speaker is 78. Thirteen Senate and House committee chairmen are over 70, six over 75, two over 80. In 1958 Congress enacted a law requiring the chief judges of federal circuit and district courts to give up administrative posts at 70. Not congressmen.

Congress is in process of strangling the Family Assistance Program and its guaranteed minimum income; the most remarkable new social program since FDR. Again, under ignoble circumstances, senators refused to allow electoral reform even to come to a vote; all the arguments against it were supplied by sophisticated intellectuals but the real gaspise clubbing was done by the toughest bunch of reactionary senators in Congress. Take another case—House and Senate are violating America's solemn financial obligation to the International Labor Organization at the behest of George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, who wants to punish it for picking a Russian as one of five assistant directors.

And so on. The anticrime bills are hypocritical. They won't cure street crime. They enormously expand federal power. The FBI can tap wires on any college campus. Regulation of explosives excludes firearms and handguns. One thing is settled, anyway. You can't kidnap a congressman. It's made a federal offense.

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Soft-Headed On Crime

Hell-bent on reelection, the House rode into battle against Evil and overwhelmingly passed the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, overcoming the annoying interjections of a brave little band, some trifling questions about the Constitution, and the notion that even the Mafia may have some rights. And the Senate last week by a 73-1 vote accepted, without changing a comma, the House bill. Lee Metcalf of Montana was the lone objector. Congress done its duty. But you can be sure it will be in no such rush by any such comparable majority to remedy what the chairman of the United States Commission on Civil Rights has just described as a "major breakdown" in the enforcement of laws and executive orders against racial discrimination.

Three Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee signed dissenting views on the Organized Crime Control Act: John Conyers, Jr., of Michigan, Abner Mikva of Illinois and William F. Ryan of New York. They argued that it "is not the answer to crime in the streets — the muggings, the robberies and the rapes . . . not an answer to the complex problem of juvenile crime . . . not an answer to the destructive penal system which breeds criminals . . . not an answer to the massive backlog of cases besetting the courts — a backlog which in such large measure accounts for criminals roaming free." They could have saved their breath. The House was not disposed to think hard, or even to listen. Bob Eckhardt of Texas was accorded the singular honor of having his words cut off in mid-sentence by a motion to adjourn during the debate.

So now we have a law that authorizes special federal grand juries to report publicly on "non-criminal misconduct, malfeasance or misfeasance in office involving organized criminal activity by an appointed officer or employee . . ." This will permit "runaway" grand juries to blast government officials on the basis of rumor, gossip, or hearsay, even though they lack sufficient evidence to indict such officials. The House, however, made sure *its* members would not be so embarrassed. Its Judiciary Committee amended the Senate-passed version to eliminate the grand jury's power to report on the misconduct of *elected* officials; only *appointed* officials. The floor debate on Eckhardt's amendment to make congressmen as equal as anyone else was a masterpiece of double-talk. Needless to say, it was rejected

out of hand, along with all other amendments.

The Act is full of mischievous innovations. It cuts away at the exclusionary rule, which court critics have complained is responsible for "handcuffing the police." It does this by limiting the time within which a defendant can complain of the illegality of evidence obtained by electronic surveillance (prior to 1968). It bars a defendant from hearing all the tapes of electronic eavesdropping conducted by the government in order to determine whether they taint the prosecution's evidence; and in view of Attorney General Mitchell's boast before the International Association of Chiefs of Police that the federal government is rapidly expanding its use of wiretapping, this is no small matter. Mitchell said only 133 taps were placed during the first seven months of 1970, and that "80 percent of the telephone conversations were incriminating." He was deliberately deceiving, for his statistics completely omitted non-court-ordered taps used in "internal security" cases (like the Chicago 7), 48-hour "emergency" taps (if nothing is heard in 47½ hours, no one is ever the wiser), or "bugs" as distinct from telephone taps. The Act directly attacks the heretofore accepted view that the defendant alone is in the best position to determine whether the government has or has not illegally collected evidence.

Congress authorizes a special sentence of up to 25 years for anyone convicted of a federal felony, who is also found to be "a dangerous special offender." "Organized crime" is never defined, but "dangerous special offender" is: he has (1) been convicted of two other felonies, one within the past five years, or he (2) committed the present felony as part of a "criminal pattern of conduct" (a) from which he derived substantial income and in which he had substantial skill or (b) which was part of a conspiracy of three persons of which he played a more than passive role. Under this provision, any congressman could be sent to the pokey the next time he is involved in zoning scandals, conflicts of interest or payroll padding. It is not necessary for the government even to prove the defendant guilty beyond a reasonable doubt of the conduct which makes him "eligible" for "dangerous special offender" sentencing. The justification given for this, of course, is that members of organized crime syndicates can't be put away under the customary procedures and sentences, which is rubbish. Just last week Simon De Cavalcante, a reputed Mafia leader, was sentenced to 15 years in prison for an extortion conspiracy.

The Act is a nightmare. Thus, courts are given power to imprison summarily, without a jury trial, witnesses who refuse to testify for 18 months or longer in *any court proceedings* (one civil case has been pending in the federal courts for over 30 years; one pending criminal case was filed in May 1921).

The most obvious example of congressional panic was acceptance by the House Judiciary Committee,

without a day of hearings, of the Administration's last-minute proposal to expand the powers of the FBI by extending the criminal penalties for malicious destruction of governmental property to any federally-assisted property, including college campuses. Wiretapping will be allowed on a broad and extensive scale, something not even suggested heretofore by the most fervent law-and-order proponent. Add to all this the imposition of an anachronistic death penalty if loss of life results, and we can see the overnight creation of a repressive measure without even a passing slap at objectivity. Over 500 men are today in death row throughout the country, under the tacit approval of courts and legislators to keep them right there.

David Acheson, when he was United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, dismissed the suggestion that "the crime rate will go away if we give back to law enforcement agencies powers taken from them by federal court decisions." But where are the votes for that hardheaded observation? Congress and the Administration choose instead to think that if we can catch most everybody who commits or might have committed crimes, we'll be safe, though our correctional institutions correct nothing.

What can be done? The President's Commission on Crime and the Administration of Justice offered a hundred recommendations several years ago. Like so many others, that report gathers dust. We don't know all the answers, but these steps seem sensible:

- Eliminate most crime-without-victims from our criminal law system: drunk and disorderly conduct, prostitution, drug offenses and gambling. This would flush countless cases out of courts, so that cases can be given individual attention and delays eliminated.

- Make it more difficult to give prison sentences for first offenses and develop a wider range of probation services with adequate manpower and control. A recent college program at Washington, DC's Lorton's Youth Center, operated in cooperation with the Federal City College, shows what can be done: the rate of parolees in college who violate parole is five percent, far lower than the national average.

- Provide funds on a massive scale for decent jobs with a future for all who are placed on probation or parole. Our penitentiaries almost guarantee that their graduates will have no place to turn but to crime. Perhaps the government should induce employers to hire ex-convicts, by insuring them against losses.

Just laws and their enforcement are indispensable to civil peace, and so we must have better recruited, better trained, better paid professional police. But when domestic tranquility is seriously disturbed, the hardheaded go further. They ask why and set about strengthening the foundations of order. In that task, more weapons, more MACE, more prisons, more wiretapping, more severe penalties are worse than poor tools; they are destructive of ends they allegedly serve.

Buying My Time

Mr. Nixon's heart aches for the candidate who can't afford as much TV and radio time as his more advantaged opponent. But when Congress adopts legislation making it easier for the poorer candidate, the President describes the bill as "worse than no answer to the problem — it is a wrong answer" and he vetoes it.

The "wrong answer" Congress thought was right would have made three changes. First, the equal time provision as it pertains to Presidential campaign broadcasts would be repealed, so that the networks in '72 could give free time to Presidential candidates of the major parties, without having to provide the same time to candidates of all parties, regardless of size; it would be more awkward under these circumstances for the Republican and Democratic Presidential candidates to avoid personal confrontation on TV. In the 1968 campaign, Mr. Nixon steered clear of confrontation he could not control, even turning down invitations to appear on such programs as "Face the Nation" or "Meet the Press." He relied exclusively on bought, managed, solo performances that involved no risk of challenge or invidious comparisons. The equal time provision ought to be waived, however, and if the votes cannot be summoned (and they probably cannot) to override the veto, at the very least the Senate should attach repeal to one of the "must" bills that comes before it when it returns to work in November.

The vetoed legislation also would have required broadcasters to cut costs for political time, charging candidates for major elective office (President, Vice President, Congress, Governor) the same rate they give their bulk commercial buyers. That is not "rate setting," as the President alleges; time rates vary widely from station to station. The stations would have been obliged simply to serve the public's interest in political discussion in campaign years by charging politicians no more than they charge business clients.

Then, the bill set a limit on broadcasting expenditures of office-seekers: seven cents for every vote cast in the last previous election for that particular office, or \$20,000 — whichever is more. Under that formula, over \$5 million could have been spent for air time by each of the Presidential candidates in '68. The practical effect would be to stretch the campaign dollar by 30 to 50 percent. Since roughly 50 percent of money raised for the campaign this fall will go for broadcasting, that is no small gain for less affluent candidates.

The reason why the Republicans prefer no such financial limitation is self-evident. The GOP is well-heeled, and the Democratic National Committee has a \$9 million deficit. In 1968, the '68 Presidential contest, Republicans spent more than double the Democrats on TV/radio advertising. The total amount put into political broadcasting that year was \$58,888,101 — a 70 per-

cent increase over 1964 and about four-and-a-half times that spent in the Presidential campaign of 1956. Mr. Nixon criticizes the bill he vetoed because it doesn't deal with all forms of campaign expenditures; it only "plugs one hole in a sieve." But what a hole!

The argument that the bill would favor incumbents turns truth on its head. The incumbent would not, as the President asserts, be given an "immeasurable advantage over the 'out.'" Incumbents now generally have greater access to money and to free time. The challenger's problem is that he can rarely match the incumbent's campaign resources. By assuring lower rates, the bill would have guaranteed "outs" a fairer share of public exposure, and at a more modest cost.

The veto raises a deeper question. Are this Administration and the broadcasters in partnership to protect each other's interests? It would seem so. The White House gets prime network time when it wants; the opposition does not. The Administration looks with favor on the Pastore bill, which would help the holders of radio and TV licenses to keep their franchises in perpetuity; speaking through the Vice President, it condemns monopoly ownership patterns in broadcasting, but it opposes Senator McIntyre's effort to break up the monopoly. In return, the Vice President airs his opinions on the Red Skelton, the David Frost, the "Today" shows. Four corporate friends of the President — Pepsi Cola, Warner Lambert, Reader's Digest and Hawthorne Books — agree to subsidize an edited, national TV presentation of the President's speech on campus unrest, just before the November elections. And the President's director of communications, Herbert Klein, tells a breakfast meeting of broadcasters that if they want to know how the Administration feels about their industry, they ought to look at the President's appointments to the FCC, and wouldn't they have to agree that from the industry's point of view, the appointments are good.

Hanging or Drowning

The showdown in Texas on November 3 between Democrat Lloyd Bentsen and Republican George Bush for a seat in the US Senate is a choice between hanging and drowning. The Democratic Rebuilding Committee (DRC), an organization based in Austin, prefers hanging. It argues that the campaign of "distortions, innuendo and lies" which contributed to Bentsen's primary victory over two-term incumbent Ralph Yarborough has deprived Bentsen, a Houston insurance millionaire, of any claim to liberal support in the general election. But it goes further: resounding defeat of the Texas Democratic party is necessary to "purify"

it by driving conservatives into the GOP, an indispensable step toward converting Texas into a two-party state with a liberal/conservative axis. The group is therefore supporting both Bush and Paul Eggers, Republican opponent of incumbent Governor Preston Smith. Yarborough is staying on the reservation by backing Bentsen, weakly.

Yarborough says he was "buried in an avalanche of money." His loss can also be traced to large numbers of crossover voters — Republicans registered as Democrats who voted for Bentsen in the primary on the theory that he would be easier to defeat in November. At last month's state Democratic convention in Dallas, after defeat of a resolution calling for a party affiliation law to prevent crossovers, more than 200 people walked out, shouting "Vote for George Bush."

The precedent was set by John Tower, who in 1961 became Texas' first Republican senator since Reconstruction, largely because of massive defection of liberal Democrats protesting conservative domination of their party. Sensing a possible victory for its Southern strategy — although Texas prides itself on being more Western than Southern — the national Republican leadership has not spared the horses this year, offering Bush and Eggers the help of Vice President Agnew and other GOP superluminaries if they want it.

Lyndon Johnson, still a power in Texas politics, and ex-governor John Connally have appeared at fund-raising events for the Democratic nominee. But the AFL-CIO has failed to give strong support to Bentsen, and PASO, a Mexican-American organization, is urging its members to vote against both Bentsen and Smith next month. Bush is expected to carry both Dallas and Houston, and if he wins big in both cities he may be able to overcome Bentsen's overwhelming strength in "brass collar" Democratic bases in the rural areas.

In a campaign devoid of serious choices, specious issues have taken over. Bush's billboards proclaim he can "do more" for Texas, an obvious reference to his ties with a Republican President; Bentsen says Texas needs a Democratic senator in Washington. (He fails to say why.) At a fund raising dinner, LBJ made oblique allusions to Bush's out-of-state origins (his father was US Senator from Connecticut); each candidate has tried to blame inflation on the party of the other. Faced with a choice between two millionaire conservatives, the Texas electorate as a whole seemingly shares the liberals' relative disinterest; the turnout may dip below 50 percent, which would be a plus factor for the GOP. Rather than vote for Bush, whose record in the House got a zero rating from ADA in 1968, many will stay home or write in a third name. But the *Texas Observer*, an influential journal among liberals, has called Bush the lesser of two evils and leans toward the DRC strategy. With Yarborough removed from the scene, the liberals are leaderless and divided. At the moment, the betting is Bush and Smith.

The Nixon Watch

America's Mission

Herewith I offer an account of Mr. Nixon's present view of the world and of what he conceives to be the American mission in the world now and perhaps for the next 25 years. Its simple banalities are not mine, nor can they be attributed directly to the President. But it can be said that they are stated in terms that he would use in a more polished form and in the first person if he were speaking for the record. His view is of special interest now, for two reasons. It appears at a time when the President and his foreign policy advisers profess to be alarmed and puzzled over what they consider to be evidence of a hardening Soviet line of policy and behavior, around the world from Berlin to the Middle East to the Caribbean, amounting in its sum to something close to rejection of the Nixon thesis that the critical issues between the two superpowers are negotiable and are best negotiated without open confrontation. And it places his latest proposals for peace in Indochina in a context they otherwise lack.

In Mr. Nixon's view, his reputation for being a very strong anti-Communist is correct and it is pleasing. It is pleasing because he continues to regard himself as a very strong anti-Communist. His dislike of communism increases when he visits Communist countries. The grayness of life and thought and expression that he observes in those countries confirms him in his preference for free societies and in his dislike of Communism.

But he as President knows that he must look at the Communists' side of it. They don't like our system any more than he likes theirs. If we are to comprehend and cope with their view of the world, we have to realize that the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are so deep and so profound that they are not going to be resolved by smiles, handshakes, summit conferences between the top leaders. It is not true that the real divisions between the US and the Soviet Union have been exaggerated, that it is simply a question of our not understanding them and their not understanding us. They understand us. Perhaps we understand them better than we used to. If we start with the fundamental proposition (simple as it sounds, this proposition is of enormous importance to Mr. Nixon) that we are different and that we are competitors and that we are going to continue to be competitors as long as this generation lives, then we can have a sound basis for a meaningful settlement of the major differences.

For example, the Russians differ with the Americans with regard to a settlement in Vietnam. They differ because they would prefer to see the Communists prevail in South Vietnam. (The corollary that the United States would prefer to see the non-Communists

prevail is implied but not stated.) That does not mean, however, that the United States and the Soviet Union will allow their differences over Vietnam to drag the two powers into a major confrontation.

A more important, a vitally important, area of difference is the Middle East. There the Soviet Union wants and in the past ten years has made tremendous strides toward gaining an opening to Africa, an opening into the Mediterranean. They want to turn the southern hinge of NATO. There we, the United States, want to deny any expansionist power domination of that critical area of the world. Even in this vitally important area of vital differences, however, the outcome of the recent Jordanian crisis indicated that when the chips are really down neither the Soviet Union nor the United States will allow itself to be dragged into a major confrontation leading to war. (Whether the chips were *really* down during the Jordan affair is disputed in Washington, but Mr. Nixon likes to have it believed that they were.)

Now we come to the President's blue chip – Europe and NATO. NATO was set up (in 1949) for several reasons: Western Europe's postwar weakness, its and our fear of the Soviet Union, but also for a third and very important reason – to find a home for the West Germans. Germany is still the heart of the problem in Europe and the Soviet Union's ideas about Germany and the future of NATO are diametrically opposed to ours. But, here again, the question is, do we allow the differences to draw the two powers into a major confrontation? Probably not, because there are great elements working against a confrontation. Everyone in the President's official family agrees that these elements are the following, in order of importance: first, neither major power is likely to make the kind of decision that would lead to the nuclear obliteration of 40- to 70-million people in each country; second, the Soviet Union with its smaller gross national product has an even greater interest than the United States has in stopping the rise of defense expenditures; and third, both countries have an interest in increasing trade with each other. So there they are, the great elements working against confrontation: avoid war, reduce defense expenditures, trade.

Finally we come to the role that the United States should play. Many Americans, not a majority but a very substantial number, are very tired of America's playing an international role. They want to get out of Vietnam; they want to bring the troops home from Europe; they don't want to be involved any place in the world. The old internationalists, many of them, have turned isolationist because of the same motivation that made them internationalists in the first place: a feeling of compassion for downtrodden people around the world now makes them nationalists, turning inward at this time, looking at the problems at home

and saying: *Away with the problems of the world. We haven't been able to do much about them. Let's turn homeward.*

Who would have thought, at the end of World War II, that the United States would be first, the Soviet Union second, Japan third, and Germany fourth among the world's powers? Yet this has happened. In the next 25 years, Japan, now a major power, may become a military power. Certainly China will become a major power. So over the next 25 years there may be five great power centers – Japan, China, a unified Europe, the Soviet Union, and the United States. What Americans must realize is very simply this: if the United States is going to the sidelines, there are going to be only two major contestants left on the field. One will be the Soviet Union and the other will be Communist China, moving up. Americans must recognize that there is no other nation in the free world that can play a role – play a role, not to defeat the Soviet Union or Communist China, but at least to be a counterbalance against the expansionist efforts of Communist China and the Soviet Union in the years ahead.

With all of its faults, the United States in this century has had as its goal not expansion but simply the defense of freedom and independence around the world. Americans can be very proud of that fact. The reason that small nations are petrified at the thought of the United States turning away from its world responsibilities is that they know that the United States in a world role will respect their independence. No nation – *no nation* – fears that the United States will compromise its independence or dominate it. When this is said, the reference is not to publicists and intellectuals, so-called, but to national leaders – Tito and the rest. This cannot be said of the two other major powers in the world, the Soviet Union and Communist China. That is why the United States role is so important to the world. If Americans retreat to the sidelines, they will leave the field to those who do have a great thrust of power, and who would move onward to expand their role wherever they possibly could.

This finally comes down to whether the United States can do it or not. That is really a question of leadership at the national level. But it is also a question of leadership in the nation's universities, in its intellectual community, in the press, in television. This Administration does not want unanimity of opinion. But it is important that the United States continue in the next 25 years the free world leadership that it still has. Whether Americans can and will do it depends upon whether they have the understanding, the stamina, the patience, the wisdom, the character to see it through.

Note: Mr. Nixon expects to say some of these things for the record in a speech to the United Nations.

John Osborne

New Wind Blowing

Baltimore

Notwithstanding talk of black separatism and white backlash in urban areas, a black-white political coalition in Baltimore recently swept 15 of 18 district offices in the state Democratic primary (tantamount to election with a four-to-one Democratic majority). The coalition also contributed substantially to the renomination of Sen. Joseph D. Tydings and the unseating of two establishment congressmen by antiwar candidates, one of whom has a good chance of becoming Maryland's first black congressman. The coalition significantly out-pollled all-white and all-black tickets. The all-white slate, dubbing itself the Pledge of Allegiance ticket and distributing flag lapel pins, actively sought working-class votes with a conservative if not racist campaign. The organizations making up the victorious coalition are the New Democratic Club, a mostly white, new politics group that grew out of the 1968 McCarthy campaign, and the Eastside Democratic Organization, mostly black and a break-away from an earlier attempt at a coalition of black clubs. The idea was to combine their relative strengths in black and white areas.

The district is peculiar, consisting of such contrasting neighborhoods as Johns Hopkins University intellectuals, working-class whites ("ethnics"), a downtown suburban-type area split between left and right and poor and middle-class blacks, all of whom have their own introverted political organizations. It has a bit of the "Last Hurrah" about it: three incumbents have been indicted (though acquitted) of dope smuggling, bribery and gambling.

In such an atmosphere, even a hint of distrust could have wrecked the coalition. For it was a coalition, not an integrated slate. Each group put up one state senatorial candidate, four for the House of Delegates and four for the Democratic State Central Committee, an even split. Seasoned political observers said it would never work. Opposition organizations circulated rumors that blacks were cutting the white candidates in their area, and vice versa. Rather than getting up tight about the rumors, the two Senate candidates whose names appeared on the team signs kidded one another: "Hey man, when you cut up those bumper stickers over there, send us the other half and save us the trouble."

The key element in the trust between the two groups was mutual respect. Both had built their organizations from scratch after bitter frustrations and were cooperating in reforming Maryland's moribund Democratic Party. Other organizations in the district had sought black votes in the past and had run successful black candidates. But the relationships had been pater-

nalistic, the candidates token and controlled. While not separatist, the Eastern Democratic Organization is much too militant for tokenism. They even had problems of their own in reverse. In seeking the club endorsement of a white candidate over a black, an EDO leader known for his independence as a city councilman had to explain: "Many of you are afraid to endorse a white because you may be called Uncle Toms. Well, if anybody calls me an Uncle Tom, I'm going to tell their mother."

The coalition was facing not only the all-black and all-white tickets, but several supposedly integrated slates. To be successful, each knew that its candidates needed the support of the other in its area. This required not only trust, but organization and hard work. Precinct organizing committees were set up, teams of volunteers scoured the district registering voters and finding out what issues concerned the people. One surprise was that many poor to middle-class whites, normally considered "silent" or hard hat, were unhappy with the war.

Once the precincts were organized, the candidates went door to door, hammering on the issues in which the voters had shown interest. Teas, coffees and receptions were held in white and black neighborhoods. White candidates were introduced to black voters and vice versa, identifying them as part of the team. A precinct by precinct analysis of the results showed that, rather than falling apart, each part of the coalition had helped the other's candidates. The Senate candidates ran only 200 votes apart, with the black winning. Though losing, the white out-pollled the lone black on the all black ticket in black precincts. The four whites won in the House, as did two of the blacks (with the other two near winners), and all eight won seats on the State Central Committee.

The victory not only adds some strong liberal voices to the state legislature, but furthers the coalition's concern with party reform. At its insistence, district representation on the State Central Committee was expanded from two to eight. The success also paves the way for a joint effort in city elections next spring and improves the chances of black aspirants for mayor.

Summing up the results, Dr. Keith D. Garlid, NDC president and a member of the McGovern Commission on (Democratic) Party Reform, said he is hopeful that it destroys the myth that "distrust between black and white is so great that they can no longer work together and that this nation is experiencing a decided drift to the right. I believe the voters of the district have pointed the way toward a new and more sensible brand of urban politics."

Patrick J. McCaffrey

MR. McCaffrey is a former reporter and editorial writer for the Atlanta Journal and the Baltimore Sun.

Blood and Gore

Nashville, Tenn.

The old gray fox of Carthage may elude the pack, yet. Only a few weeks ago, the hounds of the steeplechase crowd had him treed; today, however, the "one gallus" boys in the country stores can tell by the yelp that he's off and running through the mountains of eastern Tennessee into the farmlands that dot the middle part of the state. The only chance to corner and kill him may come when he approaches the Mississippi, where racial appeals still inflame the souls of west Tennessee's conservative Democrats. If Sen. Albert Gore does give the hounds the slip, it will ruin election night at the White House. The "Southern strategy" will be in disrepute. A whole new formula for converting that 43 percent into a majority will have to be devised, so fundamental is the struggle going on in the border precincts of Tennessee.

Everyone down here felt a change taking place in September but they're not agreed on precisely why. Gore has his own theory. He knows the "one gallus" boys who backed George Wallace in 1968 like a little fun mixed in with their politics. So he gave it to them and, as he puts it, "people who were mad with me" are now at least on talking terms.

His first move was a calculated risk. He went to Memphis Sept. 22 to greet Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, whose visit included the dedication of a new Internal Revenue Service building. It could have backfired, but didn't. That was the day Vice President Agnew allowed as how Gore was taking himself too seriously when he said he was the "number one" target. It was back filling and no one was impressed. Gore followed this up with a "one gallus" luncheon in Nashville the day the steeplechase crowd was planning a "Fox Hunter's Ball" to raise funds for his opponent, Rep. William Brock III, the Chattanooga candy heir. The luncheon drew an overflow crowd.

The final act came at Chattanooga when Gore got out his hoe-down fiddle. Word spread that he planned to do this and over 2000 turned out to hear him fiddle and tell the crowd that he "came up with Tennessee dirt on his hands, not chocolate." It may become the most quoted line of the campaign, the kind that makes politics fun in Tennessee.

Mitchell Thorp, a Tri-Cities businessman who was a Kefauver leader in northeastern Tennessee and is now working hard for Gore, told me the "turning point was when Carswell got beat in Florida. There was a tremendous change after that. Carswell's defeat raised the suspicion Gore might have been right about that and some other things." A Nashville cab driver spoke of "all those lies they're telling about Gore." He was talking about Brock's first big mistake—his charge Gore had an interstate highway, including seven

bridges, built across his farm at Carthage. It turns out that the highway is five miles from his farm and there isn't a big enough creek on the farm for even one bridge.

The race is nip and tuck but the momentum is with Gore. Both camps agree that the undecided vote, probably between 15 and 20 percent, is concentrated among Wallace supporters in middle and west Tennessee. They tend to be hawkish on Vietnam but thoroughly imbued with economic populism. Here, Gore seems to be getting the breaks. TVA rates went up 23 percent Oct. 1 because of a coal shortage. Gore has been warning Tennesseans about the "energy crisis" for two years and, to dramatize his case, held a press conference on a coal pile owned by TVA in Gallatin. He stood on an 18-day supply at a time of year when TVA usually builds up to a 100-day supply so it can heat Tennessee's homes, almost all of them electrified, during the winter. The shortage raises the possibility of an industrial brownout at a time when unemployment figures in the state are already climbing. As a bonus, TVA customers will get their first bill under higher rates just before election day.

Gore's people claim the "undecided" Wallace vote in middle Tennessee, where he must score heavily to win, is beginning to break for their man. A poll of 300 employees at the Ford plant in Nashville is cited. It was a Wallace stronghold in 1968 and went heavily for Gore's primary opponent; however, a new poll showed Gore with 189 to 101 for Brock and 12 for the American Independent Party candidate. In a rural county of middle Tennessee, Gore was greeted recently by 80 percent of the organization which had backed his opponent in the primary and carried the county for Wallace in 1968.

There are still serious problems. In many smaller counties, Gore's campaign is being managed by old supporters who refuse to change the habits of a lifetime; however, his managers in most of the populous urban areas have agreed to systematic get-out-the-vote campaigns. There's clearly an upsurge for Gore in mountainous east Tennessee where Kefauver was strong and mere mention of his name—and Gore invokes that memory often—means instant applause. But that doesn't mean Gore will come down from the mountains with a majority. In the east, he's helped by a GOP split. It's Baker country and Baker's people are said to be dragging their feet and, in cases, backing Gore. One Democratic worker who knows the mountain people told me that a lot of Republicans are switching for that reason.

East Tennessee has been Republican since the Civil War but this breed of GOPers doesn't feel too much at home with the new breed of suburbanites Brock represents, nor the dissident segregationists from west Tennessee Brock is aligned with in party fights. Besides, many are getting on in years and like Gore's record on

social security and medicare as contrasted with Brock's.

Traditionally, the Democrats have won their majorities in middle Tennessee where the *Nashville Tennessean* has great influence and small farmers are still numerous. It went for Gore in 1964. But it also went for Wallace in 1968. Today, the party organization seems to be pulling itself together to prevent a complete GOP takeover of Tennessee, which may be another reason why Gore has been greeted by Wallace leaders in recent days.

West Tennessee's psychology is similar to that of Mississippi. There, a number of courthouse crowds have written off Gore for his "Haynsworth and Carswell" votes, which Gore calls this year's euphemism for racism. A key to the outcome in west Tennessee is the huge black vote in Memphis, estimated at 40 to 45 percent of the total there. Getting them out to vote will be a job.

Gore is wisely bracing himself against a TV blitz in the final weeks, when he may be outspent on media as much as three to one. Ken Rietz, an associate of Nixon TV consultant Harry Trevalen, has been in the state for 15 months running Brock's campaign and is confident the undecided Wallace vote will come their way at the end. "That's what it's all about," he said, discussing the Brock strategy, which he declined to label a "Southern strategy." He feels TV will be kind to his man. Cold Brock may be before a large crowd, but Rietz calls TV "an intimate media" which softens such a man, particularly when he appears open-collared to tell viewers what he's done for his constituents.

There's no doubt that the GOP has never been bet-

ter organized. This is especially true in Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga and Knoxville. The Republicans will be pulling out every last vote on election day and are now busily identifying them. Already, over 600,000 voters have been identified by GOP canvassers and they're checking candidate preferences.

What does Gore have to offset this? He has turned into a spunky fighter. It has taken the edge off charges that he's aloof, that he's forgotten how to be a Tennessean and has all those rich Northern friends like Ted Kennedy. His courtly but friendly manner as he shakes his way through supermarkets is turning out to be a plus. And there's an unexpected dividend. The GOP's "Southern strategy" has Democratic regulars of all hues worried about their own future, not only in Tennessee but across the border states. This year, Tennessee Republicans nominated Dr. Winfield Dunn, a spirited Memphis dentist, for governor and he's making a stronger bid than Brock. A lot of patronage goes with that job and, suddenly, Democrats everywhere in the state are coming to realize they need each other badly. In addition, organized labor's leadership is giving Gore solid backing. Black community leaders are working for him everywhere, and flocks of students appear at every supermarket to leaflet it while their candidate shakes his way through. The remnant of Kefauver's once-powerful organization is moving into the campaign. Farm groups like the National Farmers Organization are working openly and effectively for him in Wallace territory. Not a few of Tennessee's finest sons are coming home to help Gore. It adds up to a considerable force.

Paul R. Wieck

How Many Seats Will the Republicans Lose?

Changes in the House: a Prediction

by **Richard W. Boyd and James T. Murphy**

Fewer voters will go to the polls in two weeks than did in the last Presidential election. This decline will occasion no surprise. Presidents know that voters take midterm congressional elections far less seriously than Presidential elections; they also know the resulting threat that mid-term elections pose for them.

Lyndon Johnson presumed that the 38 Democratic

congressmen elected in 1964 would be likely casualties in 1966. So he rammed through his Great Society program before the '66 election. The results were remarkable: save for the repeal of right-to-work, and DC home rule, all of Johnson's agenda was adopted, including landmark educational, employment, and civil rights packages, model cities, and economic

development legislation. Johnson's intuition served him well. Midterm losses in 1966 were greater than anticipated: the Democrats lost 47 seats.

Unlike Johnson, Nixon has not had control of the House. With a Democratic majority of 243 to 192, it has overridden the President's education appropriations veto and threatened increases in other budget items. No wonder Nixon is joining Agnew on the hustings.

The source of Republican hopes in November is the Kevin Phillips thesis of the decaying of the Democratic Party. The New Deal coalition of the South, minority groups, laborers, and eggheads seems to be splintering, as hardhats and Southerners increasingly cast Republican votes. Those who predict a Republican gain in congressional strength thus assume a realignment of major proportions between the two great parties. In our opinion, this assumption is premature. There is little in the 1968 election that suggests an impending major realignment comparable to 1896 and 1932. The great issues – Vietnam, crime, race, and disorder – have unquestionably created instability in the electorate. Also, Nixon's total vote in '68 would have been much larger than 43 percent if Wallace had not made the race. But there is little justification for comparing Nixon's victory to FDR's triumph in 1932. Without Wallace, Nixon's total vote would not have been appreciably greater than 50 percent and Republican gains in the House would not have been much larger than the five seat net gain. Though there are indications of change, there are no compelling reasons to suppose that these changes are at present of sufficient magnitude to create a Republican majority in the country. Likewise, there is no reason to expect Republican gains in the House this fall, much less Republican control.

There are, on the other hand, persuasive reasons to expect Republican losses. Among them are the historical pattern of gains in Presidential election years followed by losses in succeeding midterm elections (the surge and decline theory), the limited number of swing districts available to a Republican challenge, and the consequences of the business cycle for the party in power. The *surge and decline* argument for a Nixon loss is a straightforward extrapolation of the past. Only four times in this century – 1908, 1916, 1956, and 1960 – has the party winning the Presidency failed to increase its strength in the House; only once since the Civil War, 1934, has the Presidential party not lost House seats in the following midterm election. This recurring pattern occurs because the ballyhoo of Presidential elections draws to the polls voters who are greatly influenced by images of candidates, and who vote predominantly for a Presidential candidate and his party's congressional candidates. In mid-term, these

marginal voters stay home, and congressmen they had elected two years earlier are sent home.

A first cousin to the surge and decline thesis places great emphasis on the number of *incumbents* each party has standing for reelection. Since swing districts have dwindled to less than 25 percent of the total, all save the newest members will probably return to protect the Democratic majority in the House.

The *business cycle theory* has a number of versions. The most common asserts that in bad times voters exact their retribution from the party holding the Presidency. An interesting twist on this theory is that bad times *always* hurt Republicans, because unemployment stimulates the turnout of Democratic, blue-collar workers. MIT economist Duncan Foley has determined that every one percent increase in the October unemployment rate since the previous election costs the Republicans fifteen seats in the House. Should the unemployment rate October, 1970 be, say, 4.5 percent (in fact, it is 5.5) Foley would predict a Republican loss of 15 seats. Just to hold their own, the Republicans would have to find issues appealing enough to offset the effect of unemployment – no mean task in a midterm election of marginal interest to most voters.

To arrive at a single prediction, we have taken into account the present party strength in the House, the unemployment rate, and the type of election – Presidential or midterm. Our analysis is based on a study of all House elections since 1916. Our prediction is this. Leaving aside for the moment the effects of political and economic cycles, the party in power can expect to retain 87 percent of its membership simply because of the electoral strength of its seasoned incumbents. Republicans therefore enter the race with a base of 168 seats. But the number of seats usually lost in midterm is not proportional to the number of seats won in the Presidential surge. Election results are more accurately predicted by ignoring the size of the surge and forecasting a constant midterm loss of 17 seats for the party in power. This midterm decline would reduce Republican seats to 151, a loss of 41.

The increase in the unemployment rate will exact additional seats from the Republicans. Our estimates are milder than those of Foley. We have found the price of unemployment for the party in power to average about four seats for every one percent increase in the rate since the previous election. Depending on fluctuations in the unemployment rate before the election, the consistent rise in unemployment over the past eight months should cost the Republicans between four and eight seats – or a total of 45 to 49 seats.

The power of the Presidential office partially offsets these predicted losses and has in the past contributed an average of 13 seats to the President's congressional strength. Thus, we arrive at a final prediction – a loss

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of 32 to 36 Republican seats in November.

This might seem startlingly high. It is worth noting, however, that the average loss of the Presidential party in midterm elections since 1916 is 35 seats. Our predicted loss, moreover, is very close to that of Gallup. Gallup has argued that an average Presidential popularity rating yields an average midterm loss for the party in power. Since Nixon's current popularity rating is 56 percent, Gallup predicts a loss of 34 seats, the average midterm decline of the party in power over the last six midterm elections.

Assuming the coming election conforms to the patterns of the past, the Republicans will fare badly. If they win seats, or simply avoid losing any, the 1970 election will be historically significant. Such a victory

would be the strongest evidence yet that a new party hegemony is being established.

A final word. We have been talking of numerical, quantitative changes in party strength, not qualitative shifts—and those are important, though hard to measure. Old-line Democrats, North and South, are increasingly vulnerable. Since 1966, five Democratic committee chairmen have been defeated in primary challenges. Among this year's primary casualties were Leonard Farbstein (NY), defeated by a women's rights crusader, Bella Abzug; Philip Philbin (Mass.), a hawk and second man on the House Armed Services Committee, defeated by peace candidate Robert Drinan; and George Fallon (Md.) defeated by peace candidate Paul Sarbanes. Power is slowly changing hands.

Preferred Congressional Candidates

There follow the names of 216 candidates for Congress (188 in the House, 28 in the Senate) who, judged from statements and/or votes favor rapid military disengagement from Indochina and the reordering of national priorities in the direction of more generous financing of public services. The list is as complete as we could make it. Obviously, all candidates not listed are not pro-war, or all bad. In seven instances, there is more than one good person running for the same seat. 99 incumbents are so identified. We have paid special attention to candidates' views of the defeated Riegle-Fraser Resolution in the House (#1000), which would have limited Vietnam expenditures to what's needed for safe withdrawal of all troops by June 1971, and provided no fiscal '71 Defense funds for US support troops in Cambodia or Laos. Equal consideration has been given to the stand of senatorial candidates on the Hatfield-McGovern Resolution, which similarly provided for a cut-off on Indochina military funding. The candidates recommended vary in the diligence and effectiveness with which they serve the ends of peace, civil liberties, racial justice, jobs, decent housing, cleaner cities, air and water. But all are commendable, some more so in view of the backwardness or villainy of their opposition. If elected some will prove disappointing; others will perform better than expected. They are running for Congress, not canonization. Though they are preferable to their opponents, some candidates are not named because they have consistently supported the war in Indochina. The primaries are over, this list unfortunately is shorter than we would have liked; the final campaign push is now on. 33 Senate seats and 435 House seats are at stake.

STATE	RACE	CANDIDATE	STATE	RACE	CANDIDATE
Alaska	Senate	Wendell P. Kay D.	California	Senate	John Tunney D.
	At Large	Nick J. Begich D.		CD 1	William Kortum D.
Arizona	Senate	Sam Grossman D.		CD 3	John E. Moss D. (Inc)
	CD 2	Morris Udall D. (Inc)		CD 4	Robert L. Leggett D. (Inc)
	CD 3	Orren Beaty Jr. D.		CD 5	Phil Burton D. (Inc)

STATE	RACE	CANDIDATE	STATE	RACE	CANDIDATE
	CD 6	Russell R. Miller <i>D.</i>		CD 2	Clarence D. Long <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 7	Ronald V. Dellums <i>D.</i>		CD 4	Paul S. Sarbanes <i>D.</i>
	CD 9	Don Edwards <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 5	Royal Hart <i>D.</i>
	CD 10	Stuart McLean <i>D.</i>		CD 7	Parren Mitchell <i>D.</i>
	CD 11	Paul McCloskey Jr. <i>R.</i> (Inc)		CD 8	Gilbert Gude <i>R.</i> (Inc)
	CD 12	O'Brien Riordan <i>D.</i>	Massachusetts	Senate	Edward M. Kennedy <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 13	Gary Hart <i>D.</i>		CD 1	Silvio O. Conte <i>R.</i> (Inc)
	CD 14	Jerome R. Waldie <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 2	Edward P. Boland <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 21	Augustus F. Hawkins <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 3	Robert F. Drinan <i>D.</i>
	CD 24	Myrlie Evers <i>D.</i>		CD 5	F. Bradford Morse <i>R.</i> (Inc)
	CD 26	Thomas M. Rees <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 5	Richard Williams <i>D.</i>
	CD 30	Edward R. Roybal <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 6	Michael J. Harrington <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 31	Charles H. Wilson <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 7	Torbert Macdonald <i>D.</i> (Inc.)
Colorado	CD 1	Craig Barnes <i>D.</i>		CD 8	Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 2	Richard Gebhardt <i>D.</i>		CD 9	Daniel Houton <i>Independent</i>
Connecticut	Senate	Joseph Duffey <i>D.</i>		CD 10	Bertram A. Yaffe <i>D.</i>
	CD 4	T. F. Gilroy Daly <i>D.</i>		CD 12	Gerry Studts <i>D.</i>
	CD 6	Ella Grasso <i>D.</i>	Michigan	Senate	Philip Hart <i>D.</i> (Inc)
Delaware	At Large	John D. Daniello <i>D.</i>		CD 1	John Conyers Jr. <i>D.</i> (Inc)
Florida	Senate	Lawton Chiles <i>D.</i>		CD 2	Marvin L. Esch <i>R.</i> (Inc)
	CD 8	Ted A. Bailey <i>D.</i>		CD 2	R. Michael Stillwagon <i>D.</i>
Georgia	CD 5	Andrew Young <i>D.</i>		CD 3	Richard Enslen <i>D.</i>
Hawaii	At Large	Patsy Mink <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 4	David McCormack <i>D.</i>
Idaho	CD 1	William J. Brauner <i>D.</i>		CD 5	Jean McKee <i>D.</i>
Illinois	Senate	Adlai Stevenson III <i>D.</i>		CD 6	John A. Cihon <i>D.</i>
	CD 2	Abner Mikva <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 7	Donald W. Riegle <i>R.</i> (Inc)
	CD 9	Sidney Yates <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 11	Nino Green <i>D.</i>
	CD 12	James Cone <i>D.</i>		CD 12	James G. O'Hara <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 13	Edward Warman <i>D.</i>		CD 13	Charles C. Diggs Jr. <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 22	Robert Miller <i>D.</i>		CD 14	Lucien N. Nedzi <i>D.</i> (Inc)
Indiana	Senate	Vance Hartke <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 15	William D. Ford <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 2	Philip Sprague <i>D.</i>		CD 16	John D. Dingell <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 3	John Brademas <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 18	August Scholle <i>D.</i>
	CD 4	Edward Roush <i>D.</i>	Minnesota	Senate	Hubert Humphrey <i>D.</i>
	CD 5	Kathleen Williams <i>D.</i>		CD 3	George Rice <i>D.</i>
	CD 6	Terrence Straub <i>D.</i>		CD 4	Joseph Karth <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 8	David Huber <i>D.</i>		CD 5	Donald Fraser <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 10	Philip Sharp <i>D.</i>		CD 6	Terry Montgomery <i>D.</i>
	CD 11	Andrew Jacobs Jr. <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 7	Bob Bergland <i>D.</i>
Iowa	CD 1	Edward Mezvinsky <i>D.</i>		CD 8	John Blatnik <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 4	Roger Blobaum <i>D.</i>	Missouri	Senate	Stuart Symington <i>D.</i> (Inc)
Kansas	CD 3	James De Coursey <i>D.</i>		CD 1	William Clay <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 4	James C. Juhnke <i>D.</i>		CD 2	James W. Symington <i>D.</i> (Inc)
Kentucky	CD 3	Romano Mazzoli <i>D.</i>	Montana	Senate	Mike Mansfield <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 4	Charles Webster <i>D.</i>		CD 1	Arnold Olsen <i>D.</i> (Inc)
Louisiana	CD 1	Luke Fontana <i>Independent</i>	New Jersey	Senate	Harrison A. Williams <i>D.</i> (Inc)
	CD 2	Benjamin E. Smith <i>Independent</i>		CD 4	Frank Thompson <i>D.</i> (Inc)
Maine	Senate	Edmund S. Muskie <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 5	Ronald C. Eisele <i>D.</i>
	CD 2	William D. Hathaway <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 7	Arthur Lesemann <i>D.</i>
Maryland	Senate	Joseph Tydings <i>D.</i> (Inc)		CD 8	Robert Roe <i>D.</i> (Inc)
				CD 9	Henry Helstoski <i>D.</i> (Inc)
				CD 10	Peter Rodino Jr. <i>D.</i> (Inc)
				CD 11	Joseph G. Minish <i>D.</i> (Inc)

STATE	RACE	CANDIDATE	STATE	RACE	CANDIDATE
New Mexico	CD 11	James W. Shue R.	Oregon	CD 17	James C. Hood D.
	CD 12	Daniel F. Lundy D.		CD 21	Louis Stokes D. (Inc)
	CD 14	Dominick Daniels D. (Inc)		CD 22	Charles Vanik D. (Inc)
	Senate	Joseph M. Montoya D. (Inc)		CD 23	Ronald M. Mottl D.
New York	CD 1	Fabian Chavez D.	Pennsylvania	CD 1	Vern Cook D.
	Senate	Charles E. Goodell R. (Inc)		CD 2	Al Ullman D. (Inc)
	Senate	Richard Ottinger D.		CD 4	James Weaver D.
	CD 2	Harvey Sherman D.		Senate	William Sesler D.
	CD 3	Lester L. Wolff D. (Inc)	Rhode Island	CD 1	William A. Barrett D. (Inc)
	CD 4	Karen Burstein D.		CD 2	Robert N. C. Nix D. (Inc)
	CD 5	Allard Lowenstein D. (Inc)		CD 4	Joshua Eilberg D. (Inc)
	CD 6	Seymour Halpern R. (Inc)		CD 5	William J. Greene D. (Inc)
	CD 7	Joseph P. Addabbo D. (Inc)		CD 8	Arthur Hennessy D.
	CD 8	Benjamin Rosenthal D. (Inc)		CD 13	Frank Romano D.
	CD 11	Frank J. Brasco D. (Inc)		CD 14	William S. Moorhead D. (Inc)
	CD 12	Shirley Chisholm D. (Inc)		CD 15	Fred B. Rooney D. (Inc)
	CD 13	Bertram L. Podell D. (Inc)		CD 19	Arthur L. Berger D.
	CD 14	Peter Eikenberry <i>Liberal</i>		CD 27	Douglas Walgren D.
	CD 15	Hugh L. Carey D. (Inc)	South Dakota	Senate	John J. McLaughlin R.
	CD 16	George McClain <i>Liberal</i>		Senate	John O. Pastore D. (Inc)
	CD 17	Edward I. Koch D. (Inc)		CD 1	Fernand J. St. Germain D. (Inc)
	CD 18	Charles Rangel D. R.		CD 2	Robert O. Tiernan D. (Inc)
	CD 19	Bella Abzug D.	Tennessee	CD 2	James Abourezk D.
	CD 20	William F. Ryan D. (Inc)		Senate	Albert Gore D. (Inc)
	CD 21	Herman Badillo D.		CD 2	Roger Cowan D.
	CD 22	James H. Scheuer D. (Inc)	Texas	CD 9	Michael M. Osborn D.
	CD 23	Jonathan B. Bingham D. (Inc)		CD 8	Bob Eckhardt D. (Inc)
	CD 25	William Dretzin D.	Utah	Senate	Frank Moss D. (Inc)
	CD 26	Ogden Reid R. (Inc)		Senate	Philip Hoff D.
	CD 27	John Dow D.	Virginia	Senate	George Rawlings D.
	CD 28	Hamilton Fish Jr. R. (Inc)		CD 2	Joseph Fitzpatrick D.
	CD 28	John J. Greaney D.		CD 4	Ben Ragsdale <i>Independent</i>
	CD 29	Daniel Button R. (Inc)		CD 6	Roy R. White D.
	CD 30	Edward W. Pattison D.		CD 7	Murat Williams D.
	CD 33	David Bernstein D.		CD 8	Darrell Stearns D.
	CD 33	Howard W. Robinson R. (Inc)		CD 10	Harold Miller D.
	CD 36	Frank Horton R. (Inc)	Washington	CD 1	David Hughes D.
	CD 39	Thomas P. Flaherty D.		CD 2	Lloyd Meeds D. (Inc)
	CD 40	Edward Cuddy D.		CD 7	Brock Adams D. (Inc)
North Dakota	Senate	Quentin Burdick D. (Inc)	West Virginia	CD 4	Ken Hechler D. (Inc)
	Senate	Howard Metzenbaum D.		Senate	William Proxmire D. (Inc)
Ohio	CD 1	Bailey Turner D.	Wisconsin	CD 1	Leslie Aspin D.
	CD 2	Gerald Springer D.		CD 2	Robert Kastenmeier D. (Inc)
	CD 3	Charles W. Whalen Jr. R. (Inc)		CD 3	Ray Short D.
	CD 7	Joseph D. Lewis D.		CD 5	Henry S. Reuss D. (Inc)
	CD 9	Thomas L. Ashley D. (Inc)		CD 6	Franklin Utech D.
	CD 10	Doug Arnett D.		CD 7	David R. Obey D. (Inc)
	CD 11	Ralph Rudd D.		CD 8	Robert J. Cornell D.
	CD 12	James Goodrich D.		CD 10	Walter Thoresen D.
	CD 13	Charles A. Mosher R. (Inc)	Wyoming	At Large	Teno Roncalio D.
	CD 14	John Seiberling Jr. D.			
	CD 15	Manley L. McGee D.			
	CD 16	Virgil Musser D.			



Richard Nixon was the first President since Zachary Taylor in 1848 to be elected to a first term with both Houses of Congress controlled by the opposition party. The results were predictable. A quarrelsome 91st Congress, with weak leadership on both sides of the aisle, moved at a snail's pace on proposals Mr. Nixon offered tardily in the summer of 1969. A war-weary Senate did rouse itself and fought with the President on ABM, defense expenditures in general and the Indochina war in particular, but the White House got more or less what it wanted in each instance. On the domestic front, liberal Democrats (with the support of some GOP senators) blocked the Supreme Court nominations of G. Harrold Carswell and Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr. The President got his Family Assistance program through the House, only to have it stalled in the Senate. Congress responded to the national alarm over crime and drugs and passed several "tough" Nixon bills, including the Crime Control Act of 1970. The 91st also approved new air and water quality control bills and a comprehensive tax reform. It overturned vetoes of more funds for hospitals and schools, put a lid on TV campaign expenditures (vetoed), established the US Postal Service in hopes of improving deliveries, and modernized its own housekeeping procedures. The 1969 session was the sixth longest in history, had the lowest legislative output in 36 years, and the '70 session spilled over into the first "lame duck" meeting of both Houses since 1950. Out of hundreds of votes cast, we have selected 12 in the Senate and 12 in the House that are indicative of attitude on major issues. In the following pages, each member's vote is recorded.

Rating the 91st Congress

Twenty-four Test Votes

SENATE

1. HATFIELD-McGOVERN: *September 1, 1970.*

A resolution for the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam by December 31, 1971. Defeated 39-55.

(A vote for is marked plus.)

2. ABM: *August 6, 1969.*

Cooper-Hart amendment to restrict anti-ballistic missile "Safeguard" funds to research and development, barring deployment for the time being. Defeated 49-51.

(A vote for is marked plus.)

3. MILITARY SPENDING: *August 28, 1970.*

Motion by Proxmire (D, Wis.) and Mathias (R, Md.) to set a ceiling of \$66 billion on defense expenditures for fiscal '71 - \$6 billion less than the budget figure projected by President Nixon. Rejected, 31-42.

(A vote for is marked plus.)

4. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT: *August 12, 1969.*

Fulbright (D, Ark.) amendment that research and development money in the military procurement bill not be used for anything other than research-study directly tied to a specific military function. The intent of the amendment was to get the Defense Department out of basic research, shifting that responsibility to the National Science Foundation, where it belongs. Adopted 49-44.

(A vote for is marked plus.)

5. SENIORITY: *October 6, 1970.*

Mathias (R, Md.) amendment to the Congressional reform bill, abolishing the custom of automatically giving committee chairmanships to members with longest service, and instead permitting party caucuses to select chairmen. Defeated 23-44.

(A vote for is marked plus.)

6. POVERTY PROGRAM: *October 14, 1969.* Murphy (R, Calif.) amendment giving governors veto power over legal services projects, which would have had the effect of scuttling them. Adopted 45-40. This was a test of good-faith commitment to OEO objectives.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

7. URBAN FUNDS: *November 10, 1969.*

Hart (D, Mich.) amendment increasing the committee-approved \$1.3 billion for urban renewal by \$587-plus

million. Defeated 34-36. This vote was a key indicator of attitudes on shifting national priorities toward more ample funding for domestic rehabilitation.

(A vote for is marked plus.)

8. DESEGREGATION: *June 24, 1970.*

Mathias (R, Md.) amendment to the Office of Education money bill to delete the provision that no money in the bill could be used to force schools already considered desegregated under the '64 Civil Rights Act to bus students, abolish schools or fix attendance zones as a condition for receiving federal funds. Adopted 47-33.

(A vote to delete is marked plus.)

9. DRUG ACT: *January 27, 1970.*

Ervin (D, N.C.) motion to table amendment permitting "no-knock" warrants. The issue was not drugs, but civil liberties. Tabling motion lost 40-44.

(A vote to table is marked plus.)

10. CAMPUS DISORDERS: *December 17, 1969.*

Amendment by Javits (R, N.Y.) to delete from the Labor-HEW Appropriations Bill for fiscal 1970 a provision that if colleges had had two or more disruptions and not taken action against participants or sought aid from law enforcement officials, HEW could demand from them plans for dealing with disorders as a prerequisite for granting federal aid. Those for the amendment endorsed the general principle that campus policing should be left to campus authorities. Amendment adopted 49-43.

(A vote to delete is marked plus.)

11. TAX REFORM: *December 10, 1969.*

Dole (R, Kans.) amendment removing oil/gas intangible drilling costs from the list of tax-preference items under the minimum tax on oil corporation earnings. This was a straight choice between the public interest and the interest of the oil lobby. Rejected 44-47.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

12. CARSWELL: *April 8, 1970.*

Motion to confirm Harrold Carswell as a justice of the US Supreme Court; rejected 45-51.

(A vote for is marked a minus.)

HOUSE

1. COOPER-CHURCH: July 9, 1970.

Motion to table the Riegle (R, Mich.) motion instructing House conferees to concur in the Senate passed Cooper-Church amendment to the Foreign Military Sales Act (H.R. 15628). Riegle's amendment, if adopted, would have prohibited Cambodia-type invasions. The Administration strongly supported the motion to table. This vote is the clearest test of House sentiment on US policy in Southeast Asia. Motion to table passed 237-153.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

2. ABM: October 3, 1969.

Rivers' (D, S.C.) motion calling for the previous question on O'Konski (R, Wis.) move to recommit Defense Procurement Authorization (H.R. 14000) for fiscal 1970, with instructions to delete SAFEGUARD funds. Pro-ABM motion passed 223-141.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

3. MILITARY BUDGET: May 6, 1970.

Passage of the Defense Procurement Authorization for fiscal 1971 (H.R. 17123). The bill contained extra funds for ships and a slush fund for Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; there were virtually no cuts in any Administration requests. This vote reflects the high water mark for votes against a military funding bill and was a test of commitment to reducing wasteful and unnecessary military spending. Passed 326-69.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

4. EDUCATION: January 28, 1970.

Vote to override the President's veto of the Labor-HEW Appropriation for fiscal 1970 (H.R. 13111). The bill provided badly needed funds for education and emergency health programs. Move to override 226-191. Two-thirds majority needed.

(A vote for is marked plus.)

5. URBAN FUNDS: August 13, 1970.

Vote to override the President's veto of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriation for fiscal 1971 (H.R. 17548). As passed by the Congress, the bill added funds to Administration requests for urban development, water pollution control facilities, and emergency veteran's benefits. Move to override defeated 204-195.

(A vote for is marked plus.)

6. SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: December 18, 1969.

Motion to table the Conte (R, Mass.) motion instructing conferees on the Labor-HEW Appropriations bill

(H.R. 13111) to agree to Senate language nullifying a House-passed amendment that would legalize "freedom of choice" school desegregation plans. Tabling motion defeated 181-216.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

7. VOTING RIGHTS: December 11, 1969.

GOP-Dixie substitute for extension of the highly successful 1965 Voting Rights Act (H.R. 4249). The substitute gutted key enforcement provisions of the original act. Passed 208-204.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

8. POVERTY PROGRAM: December 12, 1969.

GOP-Dixie substitute to the Office of Economic Opportunity Authorization for fiscal 1970 (H.R. 12321). The substitute would have effectively destroyed OEO by handing control of programs over to the states. Defeated 163-231.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

9. CIVIL LIBERTIES: July 15, 1970.

Adoption of the conference report on the District of Columbia Crime bill (S. 2601), which authorized repressive "no-knock" and preventive detention procedures. Passed 332-64.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

10. WELFARE REFORM: April 16, 1970.

Approval of the plan to abolish federal-state aid to families with dependent children program and substitute a national minimum payment of \$1600 under a new family assistance plan. Passed 243-155.

(A vote for is marked plus.)

11. ENVIRONMENT: May 27, 1970.

Motion calling for the previous question on the motion to recommit the Department of Transportation Appropriation for fiscal 1971. If the previous question had been voted down, the way would have been cleared for an amendment to delete funds for the supersonic transport (SST). This was the most important environment vote of the 91st Congress, going to the crucial question of deferring new technologies until their impact on the environment has been evaluated. Previous question called 176-162.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

12. FARM SUBSIDIES: October 9, 1969.

Motion to table (kill) the Conte (R, Mass.) motion to instruct House conferees to insist on a House-passed amendment to the Agriculture Appropriations bill for fiscal 1970 (H.R. 11612) that would have placed a \$20,000 ceiling on individual payments to farmers. Tabled 181-177.

(A vote for is marked minus.)

THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	Hatfield-McGovern	ABM	Military Spending	Research and Development	Seniority	Poverty Program	Urban Funds	School Desegregation	Drug Act	Campus Disorders	Tax Reform	Carswell
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALABAMA												
Allen (D)	-	-	-	-	0	-	0	-	+	-	+	-
Sparkman (D)	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
ALASKA												
Gravel (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Stevens (R)	-	-	-	-	+	0	-	+	0	+	-	-
ARIZONA												
Fannin (R)	-	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	-	-	-	-
Goldwater (R)	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	0	-	-	-	-
ARKANSAS												
Fulbright (D)	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	-	+
McClellan (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CALIFORNIA												
Cranston (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+
Murphy (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
COLORADO												
Allott (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dominick (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
CONNECTICUT												
Dodd (D)	-	-	0	-	0	+	+	0	-	-	+	+
Ribicoff (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE												
Boggs (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
Williams (R)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
FLORIDA												
Holland (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
Gurney (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GEORGIA												
Russell (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	+	-	-
Talmadge (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HAWAII												
Inouye (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	-	+
Fong (R)	-	-	0	-	0	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
IDAHO												
Church (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jordan (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Percy (R)	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smith (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
INDIANA												
Bayh (D)	+	+	0	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hartke (D)	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	+
IOWA												
Hughes (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Miller (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KANSAS												
Dole (R)	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
Pearson (R)	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
KENTUCKY												
Cook (R)	-	+	-	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	-	+
Cooper (R)	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	0	+	-	-
LOUISIANA												
Ellender (D)	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Long (D)	-	-	-	-	0	-	0	-	-	-	-	-
MAINE												
Muskie (D)	+	+	+	-	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smith (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
MARYLAND												
Tydings (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	-	+	+	+
Mathias (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS												
Kennedy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Brooke (R)	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MICHIGAN												
Hart (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Griffin (R)	-	-	-	+	+	-	0	+	-	+	-	-
MINNESOTA												
McCarthy (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	+
Mondale (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI												
Eastland (D)	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	-	+	-	-	-
Stennis (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

New Republic ratings:

The symbol [+] indicates NR's agreement with the position taken; the symbol [-] indicates disagreement. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those absent or not voting are tabulated [0]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

Votes compiled from reports of the Congressional Quarterly.

	Hatfield-McGovern	ABM	Military Spending	Research and Development	Seniority	Poverty Program	Urban Funds	School Desegregation	Drug Act	Campus Disorders	Tax Reform	Carswell
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSOURI												
Eagleton (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Symington (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	0	0	+
MONTANA												
Mansfield (D)	+	+	+	+	-	0	+	+	-	+	-	+
Metcalfe (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	+	+	-
NEBRASKA												
Curtis (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hruska (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEVADA												
Bible (D)	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cannon (D)	-	+	-	-	0	+	0	-	-	-	-	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
McIntyre (D)	+	+	-	-	-	+	0	+	-	-	+	+
Cotton (R)	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
NEW JERSEY												
Williams (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Case (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEW MEXICO												
Anderson (D)	0	-	0	-	-	+	-	+	+	0	0	0
Montoya (D)	+	+	0	-	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	-
NEW YORK												
Goodell (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Javits (R)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA												
Ervin (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
Jordan (D)	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
NORTH DAKOTA												
Burdick (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	-	+
Young (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OHIO												
Young (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
Saxbe (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
OKLAHOMA												
Harris (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bellmon (R)	-	-	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
OREGON												
Hatfield (R)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
Packwood (R)	-	-	0	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA												
Schweiker (R)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Scott (R)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
RHODE ISLAND												
Pastore (D)	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
Pell (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Hollings (D)	-	-	0	-	-	-	+	-	+	0	-	-
Thurmond (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOUTH DAKOTA												
McGovern (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
Mundt (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	-
TENNESSEE												
Gore (D)	-	+	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Baker (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	0	-	-	+	-	-
TEXAS												
Yarborough (D)	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	0	+	+	-	+
Tower (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UTAH												
Moss (D)	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Bennett (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VERMONT												
Aiken (R)	-	+	-	+	0	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
Prouty (R)	-	-	-	+	0	-	0	+	0	+	+	+
VIRGINIA												
Byrd, Jr. (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
Spong (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
WASHINGTON												
Jackson (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Magnuson (D)	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Randolph (D)	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
WISCONSIN												
Nelson (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Proxmire (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
WYOMING												
McGee (D)	-	-	-	+	0	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
Hansen (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

	Cooper—Church	Safeguard ABM	Military Budget	Education	Urban Funds	School Desegregation	Voting Rights	Poverty Program	Civil Liberties	Welfare Reform	Environment	Farm Subsidies
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALABAMA												
3 Andrews (D)	-	-	0	+	-	0	-	-	-	-	+	-
7 Bevell (D)	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Flowers (D)	-	-	0	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Jones (D)	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	0	-
4 Nichols (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-
6 Buchanan (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Dickinson (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 Edwards (R)	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ALASKA												
AL Pollock (R)*	-	0	0	+	-	0	-	+	0	0	0	-
ARIZONA												
2 Udall (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
1 Rhodes (R)	-	0	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
3 Steiger (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ARKANSAS												
1 Alexander (D)	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2 Mills (D)	-	0	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
4 Pryor (D)	0	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
3 Hammerschmidt (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CALIFORNIA												
5 Burton (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	-
7 Cohelan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+
9 Edwards (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	-
34 Hanna (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2 Johnson (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
4 Leggett (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
15 McFall (D)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
8 Miller (D)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	-
3 Moss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Sisk (D)	0	-	-	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	-
38 Tunney (D)	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	-
37 Van Deerin (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
14 Waldie (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1 Clausen (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Gubser (R)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
11 McCloskey (R)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
6 Mailliard (R)	-	-	-	0	+	0	+	-	-	+	+	-
18 Mathias (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	0	-	-
33 Pettis (R)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	0	+
35 Schmitz (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 Talcott (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
13 Teague (R)	-	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	0	+	+	-
36 Wilson (R)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
Los Angeles Co.												
17 Anderson (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
29 Brown (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Corman (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Hawkins (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Holifield (D)	0	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26 Rees (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
30 Roybal (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
31 Wilson (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+
28 Bell (R)	-	0	-	-	-	+	+	0	-	+	-	+
23 Clawson (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	+	+
27 Goldwater (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-
32 Hosmer (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
24 Rousselot (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 Smith (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
25 Wiggins (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
COLORADO												
4 Aspinall (D)	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
3 Evans (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
1 Rogers (D)	0	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
2 Brozman (R)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
CONNECTICUT												
1 Daddario (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	0	+
3 Giaimo (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
5 Monagan (D)	+	+	-	0	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2 Vacancy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Meskill (R)	0	-	0	-	+	+	-	-	0	+	-	+
4 Weicker (R)	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+

New Republic ratings:

The symbol [+] indicates NR's agreement with the position taken; the symbol [-] indicates disagreement. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those absent or not voting are tabulated [0]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the House.

*The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.

Votes compiled from reports of the Congressional Quarterly.

	Cooper — Church	Safeguard ABM	Military Budget	Education	Urban Funds	School Desegregation	Voting Rights	Poverty Program	Civil Liberties	Welfare Reform	Environment	Farm Subsidies
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
DELAWARE												
AL Roth (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
FLORIDA												
3 Bennett (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
4 Chappell (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 Fascell (D)	+	-	-	+	+	0	+	+	-	+	0	-
2 Fuqua (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Gibbons (D)	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	0	+	+
7 Haley (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11 Pepper (D)	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	+	-	+	-	+
9 Rogers (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1 Sikes (D)	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Burke (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	+
8 Cramer (R)	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	+
5 Frey (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
GEORGIA												
3 Brinkley (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Davis (D)	-	-	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Flynt (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1 Hagan (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Landrum (D)	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	0	-	-
2 O'Neal (D)	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	0	-	-
10 Stephens (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Stuckey (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Blackburn (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Thompson (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HAWAII												
AL Matsunaga (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
AL Mink (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
IDAHO												
2 Hansen, O. (R)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	0	-
1 McClure (R)	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ILLINOIS												
21 Gray (D)	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
24 Price (D)	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
23 Shipley (D)	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
16 Anderson (R)	0	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
17 Arends (R)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
14 Erlenborn (R)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	0	-	+
20 Findley (R)	0	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
12 McClory (R)	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
18 Michel (R)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
19 Railsback (R)	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	0	+
15 Reid (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
22 Springer (R)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	0	+	0	-
Chicago-Cook Co.												
7 Annunzio (D)	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
1 Dawson (D)	+	0	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	0	-	0
5 Kluczynski (D)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
2 Mikva (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Murphy (D)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
11 Pucinski (D)	+	0	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
6 Vacancy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Rostenkowski (D)	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
9 Yates (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Collier (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
13 Crane (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
4 Derwinski (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
INDIANA												
3 Brademas (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
9 Hamilton (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
11 Jacobs (D)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1 Madden (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
4 Adair (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Bray (R)	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Dennis (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
2 Landgrebe (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
7 Myers (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Roudebush (R)	-	-	0	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Zion (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IOWA												
2 Culver (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Smith (D)	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	0	-
3 Gross (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4 Kyl (R)	-	-	-	-	-	+	0	-	-	-	+	-
6 Mayne (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
7 Scherle (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-
1 Schwengel (R)	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	0	+
KANSAS												
2 Mize (R)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
1 Sebelius (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-
4 Shriver (R)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	0
5 Skubitz (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
3 Winn (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Cooper — Church	Safeguard ABM	Military Budget	Education	Urban Funds	School Desegregation	Voting Rights	Poverty Program	Civil Liberties	Welfare Reform	Environment	Farm Subsidies
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
KENTUCKY												
2 Natcher (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—	—
3 Perkins (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—
1 Stubblefield (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	0	—
6 Watts (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	0	—
5 Carter (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	0	—
3 Cowger (R)	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	0	—
4 Snyder (R)	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	—
LOUISIANA												
2 Boggs (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—	—
3 Caffery (D)	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	0	—	—	—
7 Edwards (D)	0	—	—	—	0	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
1 Hebert (D)	—	—	—	—	+	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
8 Long (D)	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 Passman (D)	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 Rarick (D)	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Waggonner (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MAINE												
2 Hathaway (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—
1 Kyros (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—
MARYLAND												
4 Fallon (D)	—	0	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
7 Friedel (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Garmatz (D)	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	+
2 Long (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
6 Beall (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+
8 Gude (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
5 Hogan (R)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	0	+
1 Morton (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	0	—	+	—	—
MASSACHUSETTS												
2 Boland (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+
11 Burke (D)	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	+
4 Donohue (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	+
6 Harrington (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Macdonald (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
*9 McCormack (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8 O'Neill (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Philbin (D)	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+
1 Conte (R)	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	+
10 Heckler (R)	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—	—	0	+	+
12 Keith (R)	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	0	—	—	+
5 Morse (R)	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MICHIGAN												
12 O'Hara (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Broomfield (R)	0	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	0	+	—	+
3 Brown (D)	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	0	—
10 Cederberg (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
6 Chamberlain (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
2 Esch (R)	+	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
5 Ford (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—
8 Harvey (R)	—	0	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	0
4 Hutchinson (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	+
19 McDonald (R)	0	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
7 Riegle (R)	+	+	0	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+
11 Ruppe (R)	+	—	+	—	—	+	0	+	—	+	0	+
9 Vander Jagt (R)	—	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
Detroit-Wayne Co.												
1 Conyers (D)	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+
13 Diggs (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	—	+
16 Dingell (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Ford (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Griffiths (D)	+	0	—	+	0	+	+	+	—	0	0	+
14 Nedzi (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MINNESOTA												
8 Blatnik (D)	+	+	—	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
5 Fraser (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Karth (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	0
7 Langen (R)	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
3 MacGregor (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	0	—	0	+
2 Nelsen (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
1 Quie (R)	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	+
6 Zwach (R)	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+	0	+
MISSISSIPPI												
1 Abernethy (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 Colmer (D)	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 Griffin (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
4 Montgomery (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 Whitten (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

	Cooper — Church	Safeguard ABM	Military Budget	Education	Urban Funds	School Desegregation	Voting Rights	Poverty Program	Civil Liberties	Welfare Reform	Environment	Farm Subsidies
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSOURI												
5 Bolling (D)	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	—
10 Burlinson (D)	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
1 Clay (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Hull (D)	—	—	—	+	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9 Hungate (D)	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	0	+
8 Ichord (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+
4 Randall (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
3 Sullivan (D)	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	0
2 Symington (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	—
7 Hall (R)	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	+
MONTANA												
2 Melcher (D)	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—
1 Olsen (D)	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	—
NEBRASKA												
2 Cunningham (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	0	+
1 Denney (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 Martin (R)	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
NEVADA												
AL Baring (D)	—	—	—	+	+	0	—	—	—	—	—	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
2 Cleveland (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	+	+
1 Wyman (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
NEW JERSEY												
14 Daniels (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+
13 Gallagher (D)	+	0	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
9 Helstoski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Howard (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
11 Minish (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
15 Patten (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	0	—
10 Rodino (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	0	+
8 Roe (D)	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
4 Thompson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Vacancy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12 Dwyer (R)	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
5 Frelinghuysen (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
1 Hunt (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 Sandman (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—
7 Widnall (R)	+	—	—	—	+	0	+	+	—	+	+	+
NEW MEXICO												
2 Foreman (R)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
1 Lujan (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	+	+
NEW YORK												
41 Dulski (D)	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
34 Hanley (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	0
5 Lowenstein (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39 McCarthy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25 Ottinger (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
1 Pike (D)	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
35 Stratton (D)	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
3 Wolff (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
29 Button (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
37 Conable (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
28 Fish (R)	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	+
2 Grover (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+
38 Hastings (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
36 Horton (R)	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+
30 King (R)	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31 McEwen (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
27 McKneally (R)	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—
32 Pirnie (R)	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	+
26 Reid (R)	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33 Robison (R)	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
40 Smith (R)	—	0	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	+
4 Wydler (R)	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	+	+
New York City												
7 Addabbo (D)	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+
24 Biaggi (D)	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23 Bingham (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Brasco (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Carey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Celler (D)	+	—	—	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	—
12 Chisholm (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	0	+
9 Delaney (D)	—	0	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	0	+
19 Farbein (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Gilbert (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Koch (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Murphy (D)	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+
13 Podell (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Powell (D)	+	0	+	—	—	0	0	0	+	+	0	+
14 Rooney (D)	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—
8 Rosenthal (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Ryan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Scheuer (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Halpern (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+

	Cooper — Church	Safeguard ABM	Military Budget	Education	Urban Funds	School Desegregation	Voting Rights	Poverty Program	Civil Liberties	Welfare Reform	Environment	Farm Subsidies
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
NORTH CAROLINA												
2 Fountain (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Galifianakis (D)	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	—
3 Henderson (D)	—	0	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
1 Jones (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 Lennon (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
6 Preyer (D)	+	0	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	—
11 Taylor (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
10 Broyhill (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9 Jonas (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 Mizell (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8 Ruth (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
NORTH DAKOTA												
1 Andrews (R)	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—
2 Kleppe (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
OHIO												
9 Ashley (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
20 Feighan (D)	—	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	—	0	0	—
18 Hays (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	0	—	—	—	—	+
19 Vacancy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21 Stokes (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Vanik (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
17 Ashbrook (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
14 Ayres (R)	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
8 Betts (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	0	+
16 Bow (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	0	—
7 Brown (R)	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	0
2 Clancy (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	+
12 Devine (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 Harsha (R)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
5 Latta (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+
24 Lukens (R)	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	+	0	0	0	—
4 McCulloch (R)	—	—	—	—	0	+	+	+	—	+	—	+
10 Miller (R)	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	—
23 Minshall (R)	—	—	—	—	+	—	0	—	—	—	+	—
13 Mosher (R)	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+
11 Stanton (R)	+	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
1 Taft (R)	—	—	0	—	—	0	+	+	—	+	—	+
3 Whalen (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+
15 Wylie (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	0	+	—
OKLAHOMA												
3 Albert (D)	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	—	—
2 Edmondson (D)	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	—
5 Jarman (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+
4 Steed (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—
1 Belcher (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
6 Camp (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OREGON												
3 Green (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
2 Ullman (D)	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Dellenback (R)	+	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	+	—
1 Wyatt (R)	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	0	—	—
PENNSYLVANIA												
25 Clark (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—
21 Dent (D)	—	—	—	+	+	0	+	+	—	+	—	—
11 Flood (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—	—
20 Gaydos (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	0	+
14 Moorhead (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
26 Morgan (D)	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
15 Rooney (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
24 Vigorito (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
6 Yatron (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
8 Biester (R)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
18 Corbett (R)	—	+	—	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	—	+
13 Coughlin (R)	+	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
16 Eshleman (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
27 Fulton (R)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
19 Goodling (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23 Johnson (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
10 McDade (R)	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
22 Saylor (R)	+	0	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	+	+
17 Schneebeil (R)	+	+	0	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	+
9 Vacancy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12 Whalley (R)	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	0	—	—	+	+
7 Williams (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+
Philadelphia City												
1 Barrett (D)	+	+	—	+	+	0	+	+	—	+	+	+
3 Byrne (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Eilberg (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Green (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+
2 Nix (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND												
1 St. Germain (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
2 Tiernan (D)	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

	Cooper — Church	Safeguard ABM	Military Budget	Education	Urban Funds	School Desegregation	Voting Rights	Poverty Program	Civil Liberties	Welfare Reform	Environment	Farm Subsidies
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
SOUTH CAROLINA												
3 Dorn (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 Gettys (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 McMillan (D)	—	—	0	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Mann (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 Rivers (D)	—	—	—	—	+	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 Watson (R)	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	0	—
SOUTH DAKOTA												
2 Berry (R)	—	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	0	+	0	—
1 Reifel (R)	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	—	0	0	0	—
TENNESSEE												
6 Anderson (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	0	—
7 Blanton (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	0	—
4 Ewins (D)	—	—	—	0	+	—	—	+	—	—	0	—
5 Fulton (D)	+	+	—	+	+	0	0	+	—	+	—	+
8 Jones (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	0	—
3 Brock (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	+	—	—
2 Duncan (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
9 Kuykendall (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
1 Quillen (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TEXAS												
9 Brooks (D)	—	0	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—
17 Burleson (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 Cabell (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	0	0	—
22 Casey (D)	—	0	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
15 de la Garza (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—	+	0	—
2 Dowdy (D)	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8 Eckhardt (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—
21 Fisher (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20 Gonzalez (D)	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—
23 Kazen (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—
19 Mahon (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
1 Patman (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	0	—	—
10 Pickle (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
11 Poage (D)	—	0	0	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13 Purcell (D)	—	—	0	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Roberts (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 Teague (D)	0	0	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16 White (D)	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	—
12 Wright (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	+	0
14 Young (D)	—	0	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
7 Bush (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
3 Collins (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 Price (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
UTAH												
1 Burton (R)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
2 Lloyd (R)	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
VERMONT												
AL Stafford (R)	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
VIRGINIA												
4 Abbitt (D)	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	0	—	—	0	—
5 Daniel (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 Downing (D)	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 Marsh (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
3 Satterfield (D)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10 Broyhill (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
6 Poff (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
8 Scott (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
9 Wampler (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—
2 Whitehurst (R)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	+	0
WASHINGTON												
7 Adams (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+
5 Foley (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—
3 Hansen (D)	+	+	—	+	0	+	+	+	—	+	—	0
6 Hicks (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	—
2 Meeds (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—
4 May (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 Pelly (R)	—	0	—	—	—	0	+	+	—	+	—	+
WEST VIRGINIA												
4 Hechler (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—
5 Kee (D)	—	—	0	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—	—
1 Mollohan (D)	—	—	0	+	+	+	+	+	—	0	—	+
3 Slack (D)	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
2 Staggers (D)	—	0	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+
WISCONSIN												
2 Kastenmeier (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Obey (D)	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
5 Reuss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Zablocki (D)	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+
8 Byrnes (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—
9 Davis (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—
10 O'Konski (R)	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
1 Schadeberg (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—
6 Steiger (R)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	+
3 Thomson (R)	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+
WYOMING												
AL Wold (R)	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Buster Keaton Festival (Rohauer)

Comprehensive exhibits of neglected artists can have contrary effects. Sometimes a big exhibition only makes clear that a man's few well-known works are all that ought to be well-known. (For one viewer, this is true of the current Thomas Eakins show at the Whitney Museum in New York.) But sometimes a retrospective exhibit can do exactly what it was intended to do: reinforce our high opinions of a man's known work, let us see how much of his good work is insufficiently known, and in general lift him to a higher stature than ever.

That's exactly what the current Buster Keaton Festival in New York is accomplishing. The festival, which is at the Elgin Theater and will soon be seen around the country, includes every one of the ten features that Keaton himself produced, between 1923 and 1928, and each feature is shown with at least two shorts to make a bill of two hours. The series runs here, on a "rotation" basis, until October 26. It's wonderful.

There is often a tendency to get nostalgically lush when talking about old films, particularly old comics whom one loved as a child. Looking at these Keaton films as judiciously as I can, I'd like to repeat what I just said of this festival: it's wonderful.

Keaton has never been forgotten, but he has been comparatively neglected. That comparison is, obviously, with Chaplin. Now some points seem clear. As performer, Keaton is certainly Chaplin's equal. As director, he is Chaplin's superior; more flexible in his camera movement, more sensitive to pictorial quality as such. As producer of whole, organic works, he is not quite as good as Chaplin. As manager of his career, he is not remotely in Chaplin's league. Chaplin had great business and promotive sense; Keaton had practically none. (Sam Goldwyn once said, "Charlie has no business

ability—he only knows the figure he won't take a penny less than." If only Keaton had shared this conviction of the Divine Right of Comedy Kings.) Chaplin had intellectual and political concerns that made him attractive to many kinds of writers. It's impossible to imagine Keaton hobnobbing with Shaw or Wells or Einstein or Churchill. I'm not sorry that Chaplin got his reputation; I'm sorry that Keaton did not get an equal one.

There are signs already, in discussion of the Keaton Festival, of the "heavy-weight champ" complex that operates in film criticism. There must be a "best." In order to give Keaton his due, Chaplin will have to be "re-evaluated." This is nonsense. But let me continue comparisons with Chaplin as a way of treating this festival, instead of trying to discuss each Keaton film individually. Both men were born of theatrical families, Chaplin in 1889, Keaton in 1895. Both came out of the popular theater, Chaplin from the English music-hall, Keaton from American vaudeville. Both began young, but Keaton began almost as an infant. When he was about three, his father and mother tossed him about the stage in their act, and he soon became known as "The Human Mop." (At one New Haven performance in 1903, his father *threw him into the audience*—at some rowdy college boys!) Both Chaplin and Keaton got on well in the theater, Keaton even more successfully. Chaplin entered films in 1913, aged 24, Keaton, four years later, aged 22; and both saw very quickly that their theater knowledge could prosper only if they understood the *idea* of the camera. Chaplin's career, because of his gift for self-guidance, went up like a rocket and never came down. Keaton started well and, after an eleven-month interruption for service in World War One, continued well, largely due to the management of his brother-in-law, Joe Schenck. When Schenck and he parted, his career went wobbly and his private life hit some miserable low spots. Toward the end, his luck began to pick up. He was in *Limelight* (1952) with Chaplin, as well as in some other pictures) and in 1965 he appeared, with almost cosmic fatalism, in the virtually solo role of Samuel Beckett's film, *Film*. He died in February 1966. Chaplin not only managed career and money better, but also longevity. I'm delighted for him but wish Keaton had managed all three as well.

Artistically, there are close similarities and wide differences between them. Both understood the body as the source of comic life, both had incredible control of their bodies—an identification of physicality with comic performance that may never be seen on stage or film again. (Where is any young performer going to learn it?) Both understood that mere physical miracle was eventually sterile, that it had to be used in support of a character, a basically fixed character, as in the ancient tradition of clowning. In Chaplin's earliest shorts, one can see him moving toward the Tramp. In *Coney Island*, where Keaton supports Fatty Arbuckle, one can see him moving toward *his* character. (And, incidentally, disproving the myth that he never smiled.) Both pantomime artists dreaded the coming of sound, and neither was at his best in speaking roles. (Film is silent, except for just one sound: a minor character says, "Sssshh!")

The differences between them are also interesting. In a primary but not exclusive sense, Chaplin is balletic, Keaton acrobatic. It would not be Chaplin's best style to do the skip across a table, over a man's shoulders, and head-first out a transom that Keaton does in *The Goat*. Keaton would not have done the globe dance in *The Great Dictator*. Intrinsic to Chaplin's silent films is an unheard music, to Keaton's the unheard sound of daily life. Chaplin's recurrent images are the theater and the road, Keaton's are boats (*Balloonatics*, *The Navigator*, *Steamboat Bill Jr.*) and trains (*Our Hospitality*, *Go West*, *The General*) and water (too many to mention). Many of Chaplin's long films have better structures than Keaton's: Chaplin would never have let a film run ten minutes or more, as does *Our Hospitality*, before we get the first hint that it's a comedy. Most of Keaton's pictures are more obviously carpentered together than most of Chaplin's; they build toward a big climax, but they also deliberately delay it, filling in with comic figurations. Most Chaplin films are works of genius. Most Keaton films are vehicles for a genius.

There is also a sharp basic difference between the "characters" of the two men. Chaplin is the outsider, whose natural enemy is the police, almost always unemployable, let alone unem-

(Continued on page 33)

Louis Coxé: The Art Is Missing

You Might As Well Live: The Life And Times of Dorothy Parker by John Keats

(Simon and Schuster; \$7.50)

There is something depressing about this book. At first, one suspects that the sheer waste of a talent would account for it, but finally one feels that what really saddens the heart is the sense that the biographer is not adequate to his subject nor the subject to her gifts. It is the familiar story of waste.

To begin with, Mr. Keats appears to lack the qualifications one looks for in the biographer of a literary figure: he is, I suppose, a fairly successful journalist-pop-sociological writer on topics readily "researched" and as readily printed in magazines. He is intelligent, sympathetic and knowledgeable. What am I bitching about? Just that Mr. Keats has no specifically literary taste, training or sense. And I should think that would be enough to stop any publisher from further proceedings, which of course only shows how much I know. Why do I make such a serious charge? Well, consider this remark made by Mr. Keats in the course of his attempt to sum up Mrs. Parker's gift and accomplishment as poet: "She wrote poetry that was at least as good as the best of Millay and Housman." What in God's name can that mean? I suspect it means to Mr. Keats that all three of the above wrote verse—verse which is "metrical" and not avant garde. The fact that Housman, in his way, is of a wholly different order does not seem to occur to Mr. Keats, nor indeed does it seem to occur that Dorothy Parker, for all her wit and malice, may not have been any kind of poet at all.

Dorothy Parker had everything; beauty, brains, talent and charm. I can well remember when I first read "You Were Perfectly Fine" and "Big Blonde." I read them again the other day and they aren't much. But—and this is the point—they weren't much then either. I believe Mr. Keats's mistake is that he has constantly to re-

assure us that Dorothy Parker is in fact a writer of sufficient talent and achievement to warrant the effort—his and ours. Yet he cannot be said to have succeeded. The stories, on rereading, date badly, without exception; it is idle to compare Parker stories with Hemingway, yet Keats does, chiefly on the basis that both sorts were in their time "new" and largely composed of dialogue. For all Hemingway's lapses and limitations, he is a talent of another order, as is Housman, and to try to create a kind of genius by association for Dorothy Parker is doomed to failure. In their time, the stories had point, wit and an astringent irony. Their time is not now. As for the poetry, it belongs to the category of light verse, a dubious form at best, rarely successful and invariably perishable. When it verges on the "serious," it turns bittersweet-mawkish. But above all, it is the technique that betrays. Who after all praised her technique but those whom Mr. Keats himself freely admits to being less than first rate? Dorothy Parker wanted very much to write good poetry and came to recognize with bitter honesty that she could not do it. She had a bad ear and for a poet that's the end. Her handling of conventional metric sometimes fits well enough with her wit, but neither retains freshness nor point. If you cannot write meters naturally, your language turns false and weak. Dorothy Parker's poems seem padded because she really has only the punch line to deliver and what precedes is preparation. All this is simply to say that a book about Dorothy Parker must go well beyond her abilities as poet and fictionist. Is she some kind of representative woman, a real wit, a figure whose presence and ambience touched the imagination of her time?

Mr. Keats obviously thinks she is such a presence, or was—that she is worth such a book. But what is this

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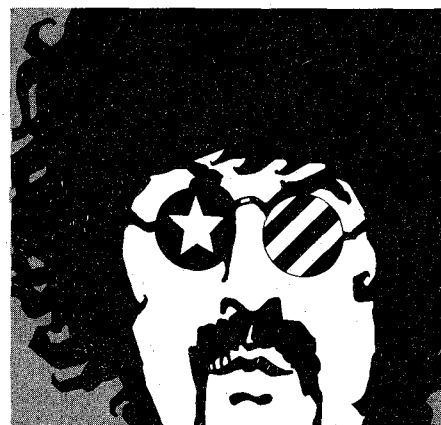
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book for, really? We learn almost nothing of Dorothy Rothschild. What she became demands that we ask whence she sprang, and how. The briefest conceivable space is devoted to her youth, and if that is because the biographer knew little about it, or because there is little to be known, all the more reason to find out — or invent! Mr. Keats tries from time to time to place her — to set her in the New York of the twenties, among the Algonquin wits who were her friends — or associates, rather. One feels that he is right to make the attempt, but one needs and wants more; it is all too sketchy and perfunctory. To a person twenty or maybe even ten, years younger than I, Robert Benchley is not even a name. I'm over 50 and I remember him chiefly as an adept at movie shorts of a kind, and at excellent portrayals of the party drunk. Woolcott was pretty awful even thirty years ago. All this Mr. Keats would admit and just about says in his book; but I think if Dorothy Parker is to emerge as a woman of stature and significance in her time, that time and the ways she spent it (and with whom) have got to take on flesh. Mr. Keats needs to tell us a lot more than that she once had the power and the wit

and the charm; we need to see them all working. Surely there must be more than the foul-mouth, the drunk, the easy lay and the sentimentalist. Why did so many people fall under her spell? Or if not why, how? What I am asking for of course is a much bigger book, and it may be, a book about that set of people in that time. I would have preferred a study of Dorothy Parker that was more critical, literarily, more thorough and more at home in literature and among literary people, and one which could evoke the feeling of time and place without having to break off to give us the facts and the stats — a book, in other words, that could weave its materials abundantly together.

Mr. Keats has made a useful contribution. He does not moralize nor does he cover up. He treats Dorothy Parker with sympathy but does not excuse. He does not blame either. If he finds her on the whole a more admirable writer and person than I for one do, perhaps that's a matter of temperament. But in the long run I think the next book on Dorothy Rothschild Parker must come to grips with person, place and thing — and with certain questions of art.

Leonard Ross: Evasions Among Democrats

The Real Majority by Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg

(Coward-McCann; \$7.95)

The Democratic party is no burnt-out case. Rarely has any opposition party possessed comparable resources for regeneration. The Democrats control Congress and face a President measurably less popular than any recent predecessor at a comparable stage in office. Only two things are lacking: men and ideas.

These deficiencies need not be fatal. If 1972 sees more inflation, less employment and no change in the war, any Democrat of legal age could be

elected President. But on any less gloomy hypothesis the country is unlikely to prefer a bland challenger to an increasingly outspoken incumbent. It is with this in mind that Scammon and Wattenberg have joined the ideological debate on the future course of the Democratic party.

The Scammon and Wattenberg prescription is extremely simple. Democrats have to go where the votes are. The real majority is neither young nor black nor poor. Rather it is middle-

aged and middle-class, increasingly liberal on economic questions but ever more conservative on social issues such as race, crime and drugs. Democrats can win its allegiance by co-opting the law-and-order issue, avoiding measures which exacerbate racial conflict (such as mandatory busing) and hitting hard on traditional economic themes.

Here their analysis ends. The bulk of the book is devoted to arguing that a "soft" line on crime and disruption is an invitation to defeat. Only in passing do the authors outline their version of an adequately tough program: minimum jail sentences of five years for muggers, ten years for dope pushers (apparently including marijuana sellers) and thirty years for murder — "with no time off for good behavior." As for rhetoric, their major suggestion comes in a passage criticizing the 1969 mayoral campaign of black Los Angeles City Councilman Thomas Bradley (a former policeman and no softie). Bradley, they say, could have won if he'd endorsed stiff sentences and promised that there wouldn't be "a single junkie or dope peddler left on the streets" when he was mayor.

These passages, though a bit shy of a comprehensive strategy, at least set a consistent tone. But even that disappears when Scammon and Wattenberg enlist the 1969 election returns in support of their theory. In Seattle, they report, several mayoral candidates "attempted to run a straight, tough one-issue law-and-order campaign." But they were swept aside in the primary because "all ten candidates were in favor of law and order." The finalists apparently had more to say about the environment than about junkies, muggers and good behavior. The authors chalk this up as evidence that, so long as no candidate is perceived as soft on social issues, the campaign can move on to other themes.

Fair enough. But if the only lesson is that liberals should be "in favor of law and order," not that they should use billy-club rhetoric, then Scammon and Wattenberg have little to say to anyone to the right of Abbie Hoffman. They never hint whether liberals should endorse anti-crime measures like the D.C. Crime Bill (no-knock, freer use of wiretapping); whether they should follow the lead of Adam Walinsky in his race for New York Attorney General by linking illegal pollution, consumer fraud and white collar crime to

the law-and-order issue; or whether they should rest content with a ringing condemnation of bad guys everywhere. Perhaps the book's evasiveness is intended to set an example for politicians: its major contribution is a reiterated "no comment."

On economic issues the text is just as thin. The authors remark that the task of the Democratic party is to remain the party of the "little man." But does this counsel a Galbraith strategy of "socialism," price and wage control and high taxes? A more traditional post-New Deal pursuit of the mixed economy? Or an aggressively anti-business approach to consumer and environmental issues? The book is written as if the choice did not exist.

The basic question for the Democratic party today is how far it should risk its working class support in appealing to a middle-class clientele. On a few issues, such as opposition to Republican recessions, there is marvelously little conflict. But elsewhere the Democrats must choose. Scammon and Wattenberg notwithstanding, the Nixon Administration is not about to let law-and-order be co-opted without a fight. Democrats will have to decide between being tough on crime like Spiro Agnew or tough on crime like Robert Kennedy. On economic policy, the party will have to face the fact that many of its favorite domestic programs help either the poor and the unemployed (Model Cities, OEO, Medicaid) or the upper middle classes (subsidized higher education) at the expense of the average working man. In the old days Republicans were more interested in squelching unions than winning elections and the Democrats could offer something for everybody. Today the Democrats must tax Peter to pay Paul, or in other words not please everybody.

The Democratic party for once could use an explicit ideological debate. Scammon and Wattenberg are Humphrey Democrats with wide political experience and strong views. They have more to contribute than appears in this book.

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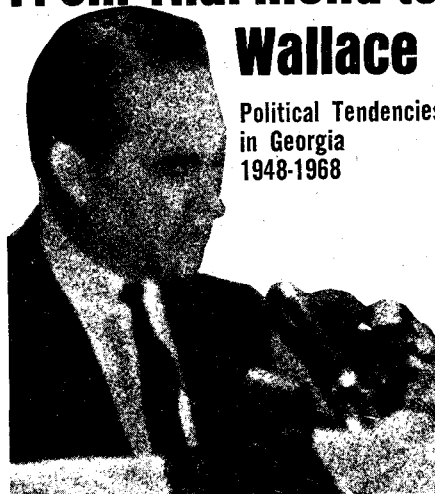
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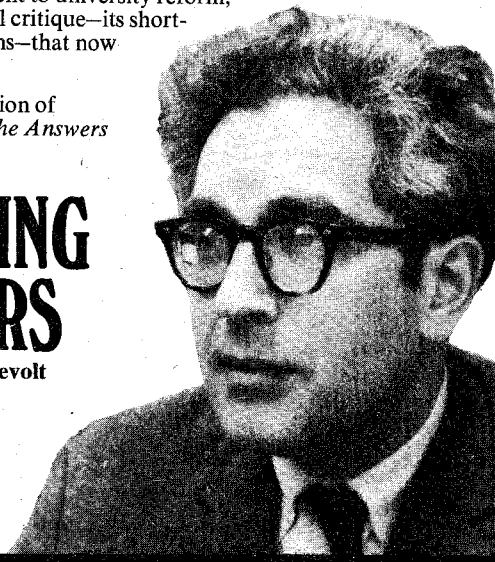
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Television

The Critic Babbles of Green Fields

A television set sits at my left hand, a window at my right—which shall I look at and out? The TV, obviously; I am paid munificently by this noble rag to watch the tube and its vision of life, not the yellowing leaves and the blue sky. Nature's programs change slowly, except for occasional storms; they offer no challenge to the journalistic mind. And nature's art is excessively subtle; it knows not the world's bludgeons. No, the journalist must stick with his tube—and of course his newspapers.

Yet I confess that I am shamed by the demands of my profession, that I worry for the world if it be left long in our hands, and that, sitting between the window and the tube I dream of starting a vast anti-journalist, anti-tube movement; of stumping the country preaching the dangers of being With It.

The tube and the newspaper do have with-itness in common; they reinforce each other in our daily lives, leaving us with less and less time for the window, or less and less mind for the window—which comes to the same thing. The window has become the equivalent of a vacuum for us; when we look out it we are unemployed. Tube and paper, on the other hand, wake us from our dull tree-gazings and idiotic communings with the universe, to give us—what?

For one thing they give us news, for which I am each year more dubiously grateful.

For another, they give us cartoons. On the tube the big cartoon day is Saturday; in the newspaper it is Sunday—but both media have their cartoons gloriously daily too—such a surfeit of gags and dumb fancies as history has never before known.

And, for a third thing, tube and newspaper give us without let-up the multitudinous currencies of our greedy capitalism (hah), a system that would immerse each of us in boiling detergents if there were profit in so doing.

To live thoughtfully for an extended period with paper and tube—as they keep struggling to search out or manufacture the top ten in fads and vices—is to wish helplessly for almost any

revolution, anything to free us in some measure from the blind economic agents conditioning us to violence, sex, drugs, chaos, sports-chauvinism, law-and-order, and deodorants.

The sad maple tree out my window speaks to me and says the emphasis is all wrong—and that I myself am witlessly one of the emphasizees. Am I not one of those *paid* to be With It?

Most of us who are paid to be With It live in Washington and New York. We are neither notably wise nor notably observant. Most of us never look out the window at all, and our notions of how to be With It are drastically molded by our machined surroundings. Importance, in our value systems, is merely that which we have been *assigned*. Thus we are the pawns of the robot assigners, and in turn the public is our pawn. We "serve" the public by laboring mightily to *distract* it from looking out its window. There, my pals, is dear old media capitalism in a nutshell—and so long as it prevails, so long as the media offer more hotsytotsy attractions than the views out our *real* windows, America will be full of fatheads.

And now I must hurry to watch *Hee Haw*.

Sedulus

Correspondence

The Economic Record

Sirs:

Melville J. Ulmer in his October 10 letter still says that I "flunked out" as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. I admire his tenacity despite the facts. During my tenure (1950-1953) the real average economic growth rate was 7.8 percent. The next best among the seven other Chairmen was 5.4 percent, and four ranged from 2.4 percent (Burns) to 0.3 percent. Even though I inherited at the start an unemployment rate of 6.4 percent, I brought the annual average during my tenure down to 3.9 percent, and down to 2.9 percent when I left. The lowest unemployment any of the other seven Chairmen left us with was 3.3 percent (and he inherited 3.7 percent at the start); the Burns tenure saw unemployment rise from 2.6 percent to 4.2 per-

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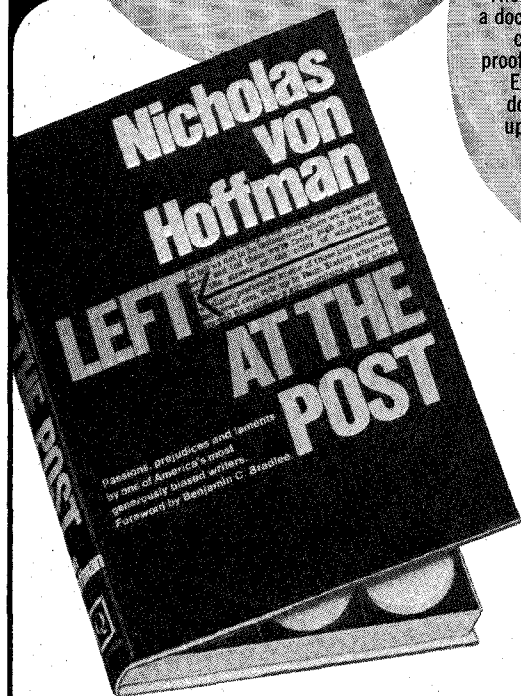
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*Continued in

Left at the Post

by Nicholas von Hoffman

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cent; four of the other Chairmen left us with rates of unemployment ranging from 4.7 percent to 6.6 percent.

The average annual price increase during my tenure was 3.8 percent, which I think any economist in his right mind would regard as a fine trade-off (at least, compared with others) for the growth-rate and employment records. Moreover, while the outbreak of the Korean war at the start of my tenure caused a great spurt of price inflation for a short time, the annual average price rise during the last two years of my tenure was only 2.4 percent, and during the last year only 0.7 percent. Aside from Dr. Nourse during the 1949 recession, the best any other Chairman did on price inflation during his last year was 1.2 percent, and four (including Burns) ranged from 2.9 percent to 5.9 percent.

Professor Galbraith's letter of October 10 exhibits his propensity to ignore the facts in the course of his pontifications, and to claim as *his* economic remedy one which others have used successfully. He declares, entirely contrary to the facts in my case, that no Chairman could "reconcile approximate price stability with a tolerably high level of employment." And he has forgotten that the methods used toward this achievement during my tenure *included* selective price and wage controls - which he now seems to think nobody ever thought of but himself.

Galbraith does not approve entirely of the "New Economists," but nonetheless he rates his friends relatively highly. Yet what a contrast there is between the economic handling of the Korean war and of the Vietnam situation. With the Korean outbreak, the CEA insisted that a high rate of economic growth, by building first the mobilization base, was the best way to absorb the war impact without neglecting all else, even if this policy added to inflation for a short spell. The results I have set forth above; nor did we neglect to lift taxes and impose selective controls, thus achieving price stability as set forth above. We did not impose the inflationary travesty of tight money and rising interest rates.

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In contrast, the "New Economists" in 1966, in a parlous international situation and despite pressing domestic needs, plunked in 1966 for huge tax reductions and more later on; they substituted jawbone for controls; and they supported the monetary travesty. They did not wake up even when Vietnam accelerated, nor even when stagnation started and inflation accelerated. The Nixonomics has doubled these errors in spades, and achieved a unique mix of recession and extraordinary inflation.

The reluctance of many economists to recognize the record of 1950-1953 is pointed example of their lack of perception, or perhaps of their trade-union solidarity.

Leon Keyserling
Washington, D.C.

Ottinger or Goodell

Sirs:

Paul Wieck concludes his survey of our New York senatorial race (October 10) with the hope that there will be "enough genuine concern among liberals" to get behind Richard Ottinger and block the conservative threat of James Buckley. I believe genuine concern among liberals suggests rather intensified support for the man who has most courageously committed himself to peace and to a compassionate America, Charles Goodell.

Mr. Wieck joins many others in citing the most gloomy estimates of Senator Goodell's chances. The resulting argument is that, no matter how superior Goodell may be to Ottinger, only Ottinger can stop Buckley, therefore support Ottinger. As of this writing the polls indicate the distance between Ottinger and Goodell to be only a few percentage points, with an unusually high proportion of voters undecided.

In the last few years peace activists have urged office holders to speak out on the war, regardless of the political cost. Goodell responded early, clearly and courageously. Mr. Wieck may consider the viewpoint too moralistic, but

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Louis COXE is a professor of English at Bowdoin College. Former editor-in-chief of the Yale Law Journal, LEONARD ROSS is a teaching fellow at Harvard Law School.

Thanks, from my mother.



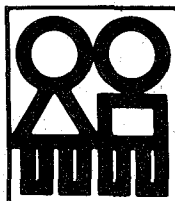
When Kim Young Sook thanked her Foster Parents for her mother's wet suit, she thanked all Foster Parents for their understanding, their love and their help.

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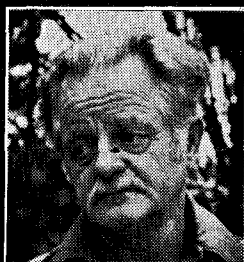
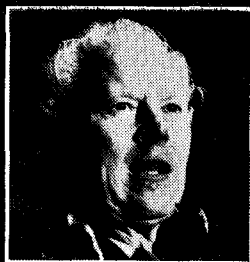
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I believe there was a mutual pledge of support in our urging and his response. After November I think we will be glad we did not abandon Senator Goodell when Mr. Wieck and others were peddling a go-with-the-winner line.

Richard J. Neuhaus
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mexican-Americans

Sirs:

A statement in your October 3, 1970 story "Unquiet Schools" is in error. Federal Judge Woodrow Seals ruled that the Mexican-Americans are a separate ethnic group entitled to the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment. He ordered the Corpus Christi schools desegregated on a tri-ethnic basis, Anglo, Mexican-American and Black-American. The case is *Jose Cisneros, et al v. The Corpus Christi Independent School District*, Civil Action #68-C-95.

This action was brought as a class action on behalf of Black and Mexican-American plaintiffs and was financed by the United States Steelworkers, AFL-CIO. The Steelworkers should get some recognition for this effort at a time when most of the press' attention is focused on the "hardhat" story.

Leonel J. Castillo
Houston, Texas

Agnew's Tactics

Sirs:

Many of us, like Sedulus, "weep for youth's indignant words, pouring out of toothy portals like angry bees, only to get lost"! Whereas in Susskind confrontation, the antagonists are usually equal in number, the format of the Frost show was dilute and conquer. Agnew was allowed a debater's dream, 50 percent of the speaking time with the rabble sharing the rest. Hence, the desperate and ineffectual attempt of the latter to cover all the issues. Agnew could afford to sit back, the epitome of urbanity, and shoot down the weakest of the flurry of missiles. The ensuing applause was very effective as a limiting factor which excused him from defending the remainder. Next question please! Agnew must be respected as a master tactician who is careful to select the format as well as the site of the battle.

Lee Shahinian, M.D.
Los Altos, California

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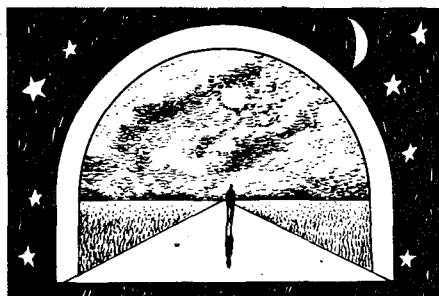
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Kauffmann, from page 24

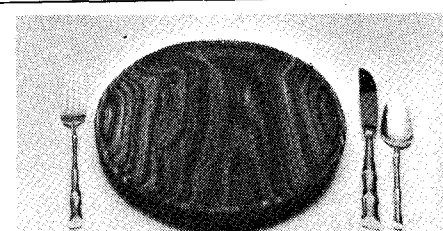
ployed. (The factory job in *Modern Times* drives him nuts.) He gets rich at the end of *The Gold Rush*, but it feels wrong; he should not be an accepted member of society. Keaton wants nothing so much as to be one of the bunch, to be accepted, to disappear in conformity; it is out of his failure to do this that most of his comedy arises. Sometimes he is born rich and conventional (*The Navigator*, *Battling Butler*). He is often employed, and when he is, he wants to make good. Compare the attitudes toward war in *Shoulder Arms* and *The General*: the former is a tragi-comedy, the latter is a comedy. Chaplin is a visitor from another planet, whose formal, though ill-fitting clothes are never mussed, in a gutter or a Klondike cabin. Keaton is very much of this planet and tries earnestly to make us believe that he is one of us. Perhaps what all this means is that Chaplin is European, Keaton is American.

It is now trite, but nonetheless true, to note that Keaton's face is beautiful. Chaplin's face gets the same beauty in motion (the scene with the girl at the end of *City Lights*) that Keaton's face has in repose. The only other film comedian comparable to these two, the endearing Harold Lloyd, falls a bit short in this respect: his face never suggests the angel in the pratfall.

Raymond Rohauer, who put this festival together, was running a film theater in Los Angeles in 1954 when Buster Keaton, whom he had never met, turned up one day. Keaton said he had heard that Rohauer was interested in old films. "Yes, I certainly am," said Rohauer. Keaton said he had a lot of "junk" in his garage that he was going to throw out unless someone took it away. Rohauer went there next day and found, among other Keaton treasures, the only surviving prints of three features: *The Three Ages*, *College*, and *Steamboat Bill, Jr.* He then went to work scouring the world for Keaton material—he has now found everything except two two-reel shorts, *Hard Luck* and *The Love Nest*—and he has also been clearing legal tangles. The festival has already been presented three times in England, and arrangements are being made for further showings in American cities. Watch for the announcement! If you don't see it soon, badger a local theater manager. No one has the right to cheat you of

this treat. Raymond Rohauer's address is 251 West 42 St., New York, NY, 10036.

Keaton had a lot of rotten luck in his last thirty years, and he couldn't believe (says Rohauer) that his pictures mattered any more. If only he could hear the audiences at the Elgin.



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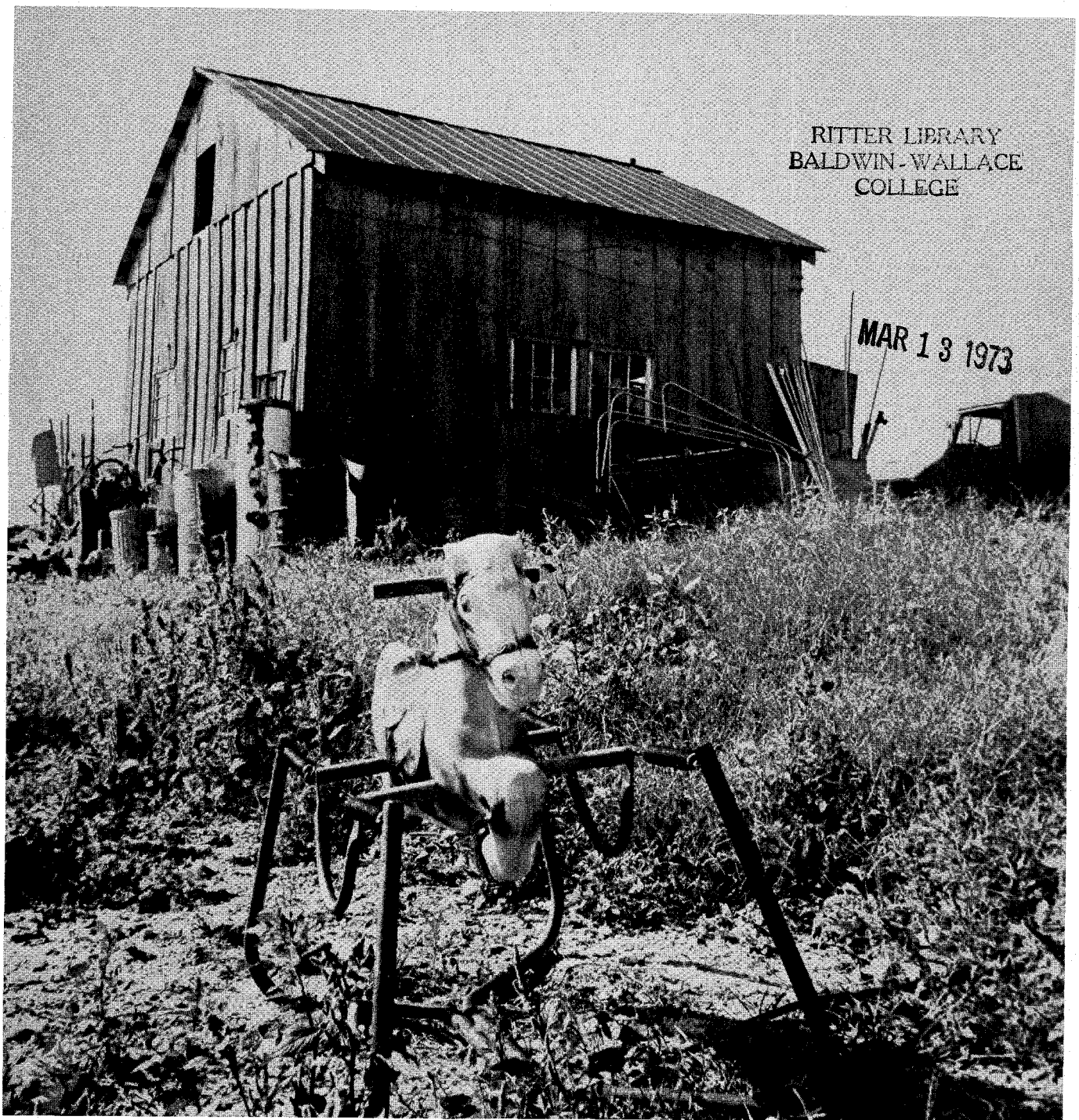
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